

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

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GRACE ABBOTT

A photograph taken in 1922 just after she had left Hull House to become chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau.

(See p. 493)

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

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THE USE OF THE GROUP STUDY IN TEACHING RESEARCH

MARY E. MACDONALD

THE School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago in 1946 radically modified the research requirements for the Master's degree. Since then the traditional "thesis" requirement may be met in two ways: (1) by completion of an acceptable individual study, as before; or (2) by satisfactory performance in a two-quarter course in which students as a group, under the guidance of an instructor, carry through a study to the point of writing a report and, then, as individuals prepare papers on the group's findings. The requirement, moreover, may be waived if a faculty committee finds, on examination of a piece of research done by the student, that he has already acquired the skills and ability which the Master's study—whether individual or group—attempts to develop. The aim of the present paper is to explain the reasoning that underlay the change in requirements at Chicago, to describe the operation of the group project, and to venture some tentative evaluation of the new plan.¹

Among schools of social work, Chicago has always been distinguished for the important place that has been reserved for research and statistics. Years ago, Dean Edith Abbott, setting forth "Some

Basic Principles in Professional Education for Social Work," wrote:

Third, there is the field of social research, including social statistics. I need not dwell on this since it has been discussed at other sessions,^[2] but I wish again to emphasize two points regarding the importance of statistics for the social worker. This is not only because every social worker ought to be a research worker but also because it is important that the statistical literature of our profession should be competently read. Social workers should be able to deal critically with the statistical arguments so often and, too frequently, so fallaciously, marshaled in support of some proposed measure of reform. Moreover without a competent understanding of statistics and other research meth-

¹ The author can claim little more than that she believes that the language in this paper is largely her own. The paper attempts to set forth the product of joint thinking of the faculty, and that product has been shaped so completely by the give and take of discussion over the past several years that it would now be impossible to disentangle individual contributions. To the faculty as a whole and especially to Dean Helen R. Wright, who has constantly challenged us and stimulated thought on these issues, should go credit for the reasoning involved; but responsibility for presenting the reasoning obviously belongs to the author. Where the reasoning appears vague or faulty, the presumption should be that the author's pen, not the faculty's mind, has been inadequate to the task.

² The paper from which this excerpt is taken was originally delivered as an address at the National Conference of Social Work, at a joint session of the Association of Schools of Professional Work, the American Association of Social Workers, and the Conference in Memphis in 1928.

ods they will not be able to understand the significance of their own work on the scientific side. One reason for the slow progress of some important social reforms in the past has been that social workers were not trained for research and were not expected to analyze and interpret their own data, and persons from other professional groups who did not properly understand either the purpose or the methods of our work were called in for special surveys.³

We continue to view the research requirements, including courses in statistics and research methods, as an integral part of the professional education of the social worker. Our emphasis is squarely upon knowledge for professional use. We hope to prepare students to practice not only next year but also in the years that follow and, in those later years, to contribute to the advancement of the profession. Basic to achieving these objectives is development in the student of a critical approach toward theory and practice, disciplined thought and performance, and appreciation of the function of research in the improvement of professional practice and the attainment of social reform. We believe our research requirements are important means toward these ends as well as toward the more immediate objectives of developing the student's knowledge and ability both to make intelligent appraisal and use of research and to participate in carrying on research in the field. This is not to say that we think we are preparing our Master's students to plan and direct research the week after their convocation, but we are trying to prepare them for participation in planning and making studies in their agencies.

These objectives have remained unchanged. We became increasingly dissatisfied, however, with the traditional

Master's thesis as a major means of achieving them. As long ago as 1934, when field-work requirements were increased, faculty concern about the disproportionate amount of students' time, without equivalent educational returns, that was going into the thesis manifested itself in changed thesis requirements. The plan was for the student to do a smaller piece of work, but one involving the same discipline in the collection, analysis, organization, and presentation of a body of data. The resulting document was deposited in the office of the School rather than in the University Library. Except for reducing somewhat the expense of typing and binding and eliminating some of the less important editorial demands of the University Dissertation Office, there was little that was new in the "new" plan, and little, if any, reduction in the scope of these studies.⁴ They simply were not appreciably smaller pieces of research, because the faculty was unwilling to accept studies of so limited a number of cases as to be inadequate for valid analysis or such restricted scope as to provide only a dull test of ability to go through the motions of making a study. Thus, while the intention had been that higher quality work could be done on smaller studies, it soon became evident that to reduce substantially the individual study would be to alter the demands made of the student to such an extent that the objectives of the thesis would be compro-

⁴ These studies were officially termed "field studies" and, later, "reports." Faculty and students alike, however, continued to use the term "thesis" to cover both *reports* and *theses*. Occasional *theses* continued to be deposited in the Library. Some students wished to have their studies receive the distinction of a place in the Library; from time to time faculty advisers encouraged students to submit their studies as *theses* when they were especially significant or of potentially wide interest. In this paper *thesis* includes both types of individual study.

³ Edith Abbott, *Social Welfare and Professional Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 51-52.

mised. This the Chicago faculty was unwilling to do, but dissatisfaction with the thesis requirement continued.

Dissatisfaction with the thesis centered principally around (1) grave doubt that students were gaining from preparation of a thesis the skill and ability to participate in research that we thought they should have; (2) the wide disparities both in demands made upon students and in the opportunities to learn afforded them by various thesis subjects; and (3) the unproductive use of student and faculty time in attempting to select suitable subjects for study and the further waste of faculty time in giving the same guidance over and over in the advisement of individual students. Some of us thought that many students were not only failing to acquire knowledge for later use from the preparation of their theses but were instead developing a negative attitude toward research in social work from the frustrations involved in making their studies. The frustrations of the students who finished acceptable studies were small in comparison with those of the many competent students who left the School with their work complete except for the thesis.

Much thought was given by the faculty to seeking ways to reduce or obviate these difficulties. Students were encouraged to begin early in the fourth quarter to look for a subject so that an approved plan of study could be formulated by the end of the quarter, thus leaving time in the fifth and sixth quarters for research and writing.⁵ A faculty committee reviewed all thesis plans and attempted in vain to work toward greater uniformity of demands on the students. The com-

mittee sought, with somewhat more success, to prevent students from embarking upon studies beyond their technical competence. Efforts were also made to provide effective guidance to students in the writing of their studies by careful assignment of supervisors (and consultants to the supervisors), by refining our criteria for an acceptable study, and by sharing our knowledge of the more successful ways and means of thesis supervision.

As more and more students remained at the School to complete the degree, all members of the faculty were overburdened with thesis supervision. That in itself was relatively unimportant. The time and attention that could be given to students was limited, however, and some students required an enormous amount of faculty time, often to little effect. Sometimes there seemed to be an inverse relationship between time spent in thesis supervision and the student's production. The important consideration was that student and faculty time and energy were being expended inefficiently, and their efforts were not producing rich learning experience. The worst waste of time was in the search for suitable thesis topics, a search that had little or no educational value for the student.

We were concerned about the many able students who just could not find an acceptable thesis topic quickly. When they finally did, time had run out, and they left the School intending to finish their studies on the job. Some managed to do so; other equally able students did not have the time and energy left from the demands of a new job to complete their studies.

These problems, of course, were not peculiar to Chicago among schools of social work or to schools of social work

⁵ University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration, "Information to Students on Thesis Procedures" (revised, April, 1944). (Mimeographed.) This document itself represented part of the effort to improve and systematize thesis procedures.

among the divisions of universities granting Master's degrees. Unfortunately, two different ways to by-pass the problems have sometimes been adopted. One way is to make the inviting assumption that the fit will somehow survive and to inquire no further into the purpose served by the thesis. The other is to approve subjects not worth study that at best provide only a sterile test of ability to collect and present a body of data. Neither method is calculated to advance the valid educational objectives of the research requirements in a school of social work; neither method tempted the Chicago faculty.

Our delay in considering not only means of improving our thesis procedures but also alternatives to the thesis probably stemmed from reluctance to evaluate the thesis solely in terms of its educational value to the student and not in terms of a possible contribution to the field. Now and then a Master's thesis would make a real contribution to the field, and useful light would be shed on the development of a social institution or on agency practice or organization. But such theses were few in number, and the returns were small in comparison with the total investment of student and faculty time.

When we put our emphasis squarely upon the educational objectives of the thesis, we shortly abandoned it as a requirement although retaining it as an option. We wanted students to know at firsthand how good research is done: how the problem to be investigated is broken down into its component parts, how the necessary data are properly collected, processed, and analyzed, and how the findings are interpreted and presented. The traditional scheme of requiring a small study done semi-independently appeared from this point of view to have

little to commend it. We concluded that we could give students a better opportunity to develop skill in research on a larger piece of work done by a group of students and at the same time hold to higher standards of individual performance. As Dean Wright put it, "What we wanted from students was evidence that they could do research rather than that they had already done so."

THE NEW PLAN

A substitute for the thesis was therefore proposed in the form of a two-quarter course in which a group of students under the direction of an instructor would undertake a study. The group was to develop the plan of study, collect, process, and tabulate the data, and then each student was to write up the results in a paper. Thus, students would have firsthand experience in a well-planned, more ambitious research project than the individual thesis, and evidence of individual competence would be available, not only in the collection of material and the final papers, but also from various assignments that might be made by the instructor. The proposal was reviewed and indorsed by a faculty committee and then adopted unanimously by the faculty in May, 1946. The course was subsequently entitled, "Applied Research Methods," but it is generally known as the "research seminar."

The thesis was not abolished. Any student who proposes a suitable topic for a thesis and who shows promise of being able to make the study with a high degree of independence may be permitted to write a thesis. We shall offer supervision—and we hope even better supervision than when we had large numbers of thesis-writers—but we do not intend to hold the hand that holds the pen. Furthermore, the requirement of completion

of the research seminar or an individual thesis may be waived. As we considered the educational value to the student, we saw little for the student who had already had equivalent experience in planning and making a study. Hence a student may submit for review a piece of work done elsewhere, with evidence that he carried it through with a high degree of independence. If, in the judgment of a faculty committee, the work offers conclusive evidence that the student has had comparable experience, the research requirement is waived.

In the Summer Quarter of 1946, "Applied Research Methods" was offered for the first time. From the autumn of 1946, when the first group completed their project, through the Summer Quarter, 1950, 680 students have received A.M. degrees from the School of Social Service Administration. Only 88 submitted theses, and most of those were begun before the new plan went into effect. During the same four-year period, the research requirement was waived for 6 students. In the last four quarters, of 127 students receiving A.M. degrees, 120 completed the research seminar, 5 submitted theses, and 2 were exempted from the requirement on the basis of research done elsewhere.

During the first four years of the new plan, twenty-eight research seminars were offered. The subjects of study have covered a wide range—one might say from the cradle to just short of the grave. Projects have been conducted in association with four children's agencies. A number of homes for the aged co-operated in two seminars concerned with their intake policies. Certain aspects of the School's own field-work program were examined by two projects. The most extensive study has been given to disqualifications under unemployment

compensation. Altogether, five projects under three different instructors were devoted to study of either disability or misconduct disqualifications. Disabled persons receiving general assistance, unmarried mother grantees of aid to dependent children, persons in ADC families whose employability was recently reviewed by the agency—all provided subjects for group projects. Other seminars have been concerned with clinic patients of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanatorium, volunteers registered at the Volunteer Bureau, and employed workers residing in public housing projects. One recent group investigated the use county courts are making of special state funds for the foster-care of children. The students collected data from the original ledger records of the Auditor of Public Accounts. Since no summary of these records has ever been compiled and since no one in the state has really known what is happening under the program, this project should be of great value.

The seminar groups have ranged in size from 14 to 30; the average has been just under 22. We have reached no conclusion as to the optimum size of the seminar group. When the students are dealing with relatively simple and straightforward facts, as many as 24 or 25 students seem to make a workable group. When the data are more complicated and more detailed supervision is needed from the instructor, a group of 15 to 18 students is to be preferred. Obviously, the larger the number of students, the more extensive the study that can be made of any given subject. Projects under the writer's direction have included from 100 to 514 cases. Possibilities for analysis are greatly enhanced with a body of data on as many as 500 cases. Projects in which a limited question is explored on a relatively large

number of cases seem to offer particularly good teaching material.

These few general facts on the new plan at Chicago should give some idea of the diversity of subject matter that has been covered and the flexibility that has characterized "Applied Research Methods." While the course has evolved through joint thinking and while the four instructors who have given it have the same objectives and in general the same approach, we have made no attempt to draft a detailed blueprint for teaching the course. We doubtless have somewhat different emphasis and somewhat different methods. Hence, while the description that follows of the way the course operates applies in the main to the four instructors, it is drawn from my own practice and experience and in minor points may deviate from the practice of the others.

The course extends over two quarters and carries full credit in both quarters. Usually the class meets three hours a week during the first quarter and two during the second, except that class sessions are omitted when the students are writing their papers or at other times in the two quarters when there is no need for group discussion. The demand on the students' time is considerably greater than that of the average full-credit classroom course. While students tend to criticize their seminar projects freely, they seldom, if ever, complain about the amount of work involved. They know from the beginning that there is a job to do, and they participate in laying out that job. Indeed, in the planning stages, they invariably want to attempt more than is feasible in the time available.

Compressing a project within two quarters permits no leisurely approach by class, instructor, or mimeographer. To dally over the planning stage, always

tempting, is to harry the students through the remainder of the course. If the experience is to be as good as one as possible, the students must have adequate time later on to digest the material and to put thought and reflection into their papers. Time should also be allowed for revision of the papers. In order to set limits to planning for both class and instructor, to make later deadlines realistic and not arbitrary, and to assure members of the class that they can finish fairly comfortably, my practice has been to post at the beginning of the course a tentative time schedule giving the dates on which each stage of the study should be completed. Any research effort is notoriously refractory to scheduling, and these tentative timetables usually have to be altered. But when one deadline is postponed, the subsequent dates can also be modified realistically in consultation with the group. Students and instructors agree that two quarters is really too short a time for such projects.

The selection of a suitable subject for study is the responsibility of the instructor. We have found subjects in various ways. Most have been suggested by agencies that made their records available; others have been suggested to the agency by an instructor. In any event, it is essential that the instructor make certain preparations in advance. These involve sufficient exploration of the subject to be certain that it will provide a good experience for the students and to reach an understanding with the co-operating agency of what it can expect from the student research. The purpose of the course is educational, and occasionally research considerations must be sacrificed to educational considerations. This is not to advocate compromises with good research method, but rather the shaping of the study to fit the students'

needs and capacities rather than the agency's interests where the two may conflict. In my own experience this question has arisen only on two or three minor points. The agencies concerned were more than willing to give first consideration to the educational values for the students and at once modified their requests.

We are agreed on certain criteria for seminar projects. The data must be definite and readily available. The materials to be studied must be small and manageable and within the technical competence of the students. For example, we should not want students to spend a disproportionate amount of their time searching voluminous case records for elusive facts, nor should we want them to make judgments beyond their competence about case material. Finally, the subject must hold interest for social work students and practical value for the co-operating agency or the field. That is, the research seminar cannot be a glorified class exercise in which all concerned but the students know the answers, nor a futile search for the answers to questions not worth asking. When agency staff manifest understanding of and interest in the study, the students are challenged to put forth their best efforts.

The instructor, then, has to consider all these points in preparing for a project. The subject has to be explored, and the purpose of the study established at least in general terms. The instructor may agree with the agency that certain questions will be included, but all questions cannot be settled if the students are to have a real part in the planning. The first task of the group is to develop a clear and specific formulation of the purpose of the study. The next is to determine the questions that should be answered in order to fulfil the established purpose and to

ascertain that the answers are available.

For example, in one of my projects our purpose was "to determine the personal characteristics and type and amount of service given by volunteers who were recruited and placed by the Volunteer Bureau of the Welfare Council." In advance the general approach had been agreed upon; the specific formulation of purpose was arrived at by the group. As we elaborated the statement of purpose into the questions that needed to be answered, one question that was clearly relevant concerned the motivation of the volunteer to give community service. Both the students and the agency were especially interested in this question. There was some doubt, however, as to the availability of adequate recorded material for student use and interpretation.

One student went to the Bureau and examined the records of twenty-five or thirty volunteers, taking down whatever material there was on motivations. Then we devoted almost a whole class session to considering how this diverse and fragmentary material could be handled by the group. What specific instructions could be devised so that the nineteen students would be enabled to collect valid material uniformly? Discussion of the available data brought out clearly the impossibility of the task unless the students were to draw inferences rather freely from the available fragments. The question was eliminated by common consent, and in the process the class learned something about the need for adequate, uniformly recorded case material for research purposes. The instructor cherishes the thought that perhaps the lesson may be applied in another connection by one or two of the nineteen.

At this stage of planning as well as at other points, assignments to committees

of two or three students may be used to good effect. In my experience these committees work very hard. When they report to the class, they are invariably cross-examined by other members of the group. They have to produce the reasons for the recommendations they make.

Once the purpose is determined and elaborated into the specific questions to be answered, the group works on the task of devising a schedule for collection of the data. Here my own practice has varied from having the students attempt to set up the entire schedule to giving the students a very small share in that task. After the questions are agreed upon, the phrasing and spacing, while important, holds relatively little in the way of teaching possibilities. We all have the students work on writing instructions for filling in the schedule, but here again the instructor is responsible for the eventual production of a good, workable set of instructions for use of the group. Assignment of responsibility for drafting sections of the instructions to small student committees seems to work very well. Reports of such committee sessions indicate that discussion is both focused and lively as the students attempt to cover all contingencies in drafting clear and comprehensive instructions.

While it is desirable that all students participate in the next step of the study, tryout of the schedule and instructions, that has not always been feasible in my groups. Student programs are very tight and to wait for all to have the time to test a schedule or two would sometimes delay the study unduly, and time flies all too fast. Therefore, when only part of the class participate in the tryout, the others examine their work. The students are very critical at this stage—they demand that every *i* be dotted and every *t* crossed. Since students are seldom called

upon to criticize and revise a document which at the very least has been edited and approved, if not partly authored, by the instructor, they usually make the most of this opportunity and exercise freely their best critical faculties.

By about the sixth week of the first quarter the schedule and instructions should be in final form, and collection of the data begins in earnest. The students go to the agency to read records or in some of the projects arrange to interview persons. The completed schedules come into the research laboratory and are edited by the students, and usually at least a small proportion are edited by the instructor. When necessary, students return to the agency to check and correct questioned data on their schedules.

On the whole the students exercise great care in filling in the schedules. Errors, of course, are inevitable both in transcribing the data and in interpreting the instructions. Early detection of all possible errors through the editing and checking process presents certain difficulties. First, most students, very conscious of deadlines, naturally give priority, both as to time and as to effort, to completing their own schedules rather than to checking those of their fellows. Second, it is my impression that ability to do a careful editing job varies more among students than do the other abilities called upon during the project. Good editors seem to be born, and, if they can be made, it would seem to be only through long experience rather than through the guidance and written instructions it is possible to give in such a course. There are always some in the group who have real talent in editing and checking schedules, and often these same students put in a disproportionate amount of time. Equalizing the burden of editing the schedules

and improving the quality of this work is one of my unsolved problems.

While the class has been busy filling in their schedules and checking one another's, class sessions are devoted to further planning for tabulation of the material. The product of the whole group is tabulated together; in one recent seminar each student scheduled 10 cases, the tables encompassed the total 210 cases. The group works together on devising a plan for coding the material—that is, simply reducing it by means of appropriate shorthand—for transfer to cards for the counting that goes into making up tables. Of course, we have different ways from project to project and instructor to instructor, no doubt, of handling assignments here. Again, while the students participate in planning tables and in devising the code, the instructor takes final responsibility for the code plan and instructions, for devising the tabulating cards to which the coded data are transferred, and for laying out the tables to be made.

We have not used I.B.M. equipment in connection with any of the research seminars, but we uniformly use tabulating cards, usually punched around the edges for sorting by means of knitting needles, for the major recurring items in tabulation. In this way the students may learn the general principles of mechanical tabulation; they also learn the value of tabulating cards for ease of sorting and counting in any small study.

Comfortable completion of the project requires that the schedules be in and finally checked by about the beginning of the second quarter. Coding and filling in the coded data on the tabulating cards takes relatively little time, so that tabulating can start by about the second or third week of the quarter. My practice has been to have the students assume re-

sponsibility for coding the schedules they themselves take and also for finding a partner to check their work and to assist in transferring the coded material to the cards. The tabulating is very easy to handle: a schedule is posted in the laboratory for the students to sign up in pairs for the required amount of time. Thus, a check is provided at every stage of the work. Finally, we mimeograph the tables, or at least the important ones, for the students' use.

At that point each student retires to his own tent to meditate upon the findings and to plan his report. That is, each student writes an individual report based on the work of the entire group. Experience suggests that at least four weeks should be allowed for writing. In the meantime in class we discuss the implications of some of the tables and some of the limitations of our data, and the instructor attempts to give guidance on "how to write a good report." At this time, also, the instructor sees a good deal of the students outside class. Some need help with outlines, some need clarification of one kind or another about the data, others want the instructor to read a page or two to see whether they are, as they inevitably put it, "on the right track." This is somewhat like thesis supervision, but with important differences. First, the instructor knows what the data actually are and what they mean far better than the materials which the thesis student presents, because the instructor has been thoroughly involved in every stage of the group project. Second, common problems can be thrashed out in class discussion, so that individual conferences need cover only really individual questions and problems.

It is remarkable how different twenty papers based upon the same body of data can be. It has been my practice to en-

courage difference rather than similarity, but the wide differences in treatment of the material (not including variation in quality) never cease to surprise me. The papers are not so long as theses. They are more like articles which report a study. Indeed, we often suggest to the class that they write as for a professional journal. The papers are not so complete as theses. They are not so complete because students are more selective, and they seem not to have the compulsion so characteristic of the thesis student to "put everything in" if only because he collected it. It is my practice to encourage students to select from the available material that which they think is most important and significant. They are also not so complete as theses because they usually do not have so much in the way of illustrative cases to explain and give meaning to the statistical tables. In my groups this is frankly a short cut, and students are required only to give enough illustrations to demonstrate that they know how to use them effectively. And the students most frequently use as illustrations the cases they themselves read. The papers are not so much reworked as theses. We do not usually require complete revision or so extensive polishing with respect to form. A poor paper may have to be thoroughly rewritten. With a good average paper, my practice is usually to require correction of any bad spots and careful, thorough revision of one section of the paper to demonstrate what the student can do in the way of rewriting and polishing under supervision.

But it is my experience that, on the average, the papers are much better written than theses and that the data are much more competently handled. This seems attributable to a number of factors. First, the project students have a much clearer grasp from start to finish of

the purpose and focus. Unlike the thesis student who can drift away from his original purpose, great emphasis throughout the course on just what we are trying to get at would make it difficult indeed for all but the most confused to lose sight of the purpose of the study. Second, there is the stimulation of group discussion, so that the meaning of the data has been discussed inside and outside of class. Each student has been involved in discussion not only of the questions that have occurred to him but also of the questions articulated by the most critical and incisive thinkers. Limitations of the data are thoroughly explored. That this joint consideration opens rather than closes avenues of individual thought is borne out by the real individuality displayed in the papers. Third, the group approach allays student anxiety, not only because the student is better prepared for the task of organizing and writing up the material, but also because he is not alone in facing the task. This is not to say that many students are not somewhat frightened by the prospect or that some are not very anxious and inclined to underestimate their abilities. It does seem, however, that the group approach encourages a far more confident attack on the problem, so that the individual student is less likely to be overwhelmed by the data and that such anxiety as there is is less widespread, less intense, and shorter lived.

One interesting point of superiority of project papers, in general, over individual theses, in general, is in the matter of bias. Every thesis supervisor has labored with the student who selects a subject for inquiry out of personal interest (in the worst sense of the word) and who, throughout the inquiry, wears the blinders of bias and prejudice. Pervasive distortion and misinterpretation through

bias appear far less frequently, in my experience, with the seminar students. Possible reasons for this suggest themselves: the subject selected for study is not so likely to lie in the area of such a student's personal involvement; and, if it should, the cherished views are perhaps more likely to be washed out in group discussion and thinking in the course of the study rather than to be presented full blown in the first draft of the report, after which the supervisor's criticisms may readily be rationalized as expressions of the supervisor's own bias. Whether or not the seminar experience would carry over with susceptible students to research in a more vulnerable area is an open question.

All this is not to say that the group research papers are every one an example of good organization, penetrating analysis, and clear and forceful presentation. Were such the case, the instructor's lot in the closing weeks of the quarter would be an easy one. Speedy and careful reading of the papers—checking the figures and making extensive marginal (and other) comments—would be unnecessary. Conferences about revisions and the dull task of reading and checking revisions could be dispensed with, and the closing meetings of the course could be omitted. The final meetings of the class seem particularly valuable. Opportunity is then afforded to review the project, to consider improvements in method were the study to be repeated, and to mention at least the lines of further study suggested by the findings.

It is my usual practice first to attempt a general evaluation of the papers and to take up common errors. This may appear dull indeed, but it is not because, except in the case of patent errors of fact or violations of accepted and standard practice, the discussion involves whys and

wherefores. At the close of one project which concerned services rendered to clients in domestic discord cases, it was possible to present to the class nine assumptions, each made by at least one student, and none of which was valid. One or two of these assumptions actually neglected to take into account data available in the study and were readily disposed of in discussion. Others represented case-work principles without the always indicated qualification, "in general," and hence violated the major case-work principle of particularization. For example, more than one student based his interpretation of data concerning the whereabouts of the spouses of the clients on the assumption that children are better off with two parents in the home, without qualification as to the condition of the parents or the relationship between them. More than once, in the closing sessions, it has been possible to get into the question of determining causation, because a few in the class usually slip into imputing causation where the evidence shows association. Fruitful discussion of sampling often occurs at the end of the course. Finally, we usually discuss what we would do were we to embark anew on the same study. While this session may put some strain upon the instructor, full and free consideration of mistakes and omissions not only provides instructor and class with food for thought but also provides further induction of the students into the spirit of scientific inquiry.

So much, then, for the explanation of how the research seminar operates; next some further evaluation of the plan will be attempted. There is not a member of the Chicago faculty who would advocate abandonment of the new plan. Of course, all but four members may be biased because they share the responsibility for thesis supervision, but they do not con-

duct the research seminars. The four instructors who teach the seminar, however, cannot be accused of bias, and we are convinced that students learn more that is applicable to research in the field of social welfare.

FURTHER EVALUATION

There were five principal counts in our indictment of the thesis. These will be considered first in further evaluating the new plan:

1. The search for a thesis subject, as already mentioned, often involved a fruitless expenditure of time on the part of students and faculty members. Students went from one faculty member to another seeking ideas for their studies. We found that students spent hours going over the card file of subjects already approved for theses, a search which seldom proved effective in suggesting a new subject to be done. The trials and tribulations of the social work student in search of a thesis topic are well known to the whole field. There may be educational values in this search, but, if there are, they have eluded our observation.

The instructor assumes responsibility for finding a subject for group study. This is not always easy, and there may be trials and tribulations for the instructor. But the instructor should be able to deal with the problem better than twenty neophytes independently and to find a subject that will afford good research experience.

2. We found also a very real lack of suitable subjects for theses. Good topics for library research are not inexhaustible. State care of the insane, for example, provides a suitable subject, but there are less than forty-eight states which offer adequate reports on which to base a study. Agency records are often satisfactory, but there is a limit to the number of

studies that can be done in a single agency. Students frequently propose challenging topics for study for which adequate recorded materials simply are not available or which are beyond their technical competence in case work or in research. Many students in psychiatric social work, mindful of the desire of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers that their theses shall "preferably" relate to "the field of psychiatric social work,"⁶ search long and hard for a suitable subject in this area which is so unsuitable for research by one who is neither an experienced case worker nor an experienced research worker. But the major difficulty of finding a suitable subject for individual study involving the use of case materials is that such studies usually require far more time in the collection of material than the individual student can be expected to give. Reduction to manageable limits is seldom feasible. As already noted, the faculty was unwilling to approve studies based on so few cases as to preclude valid analysis or concerned with so limited a problem as to be of questionable value.

Unless we were willing to compromise our standards as to what is a suitable subject for individual study, the problem would have become an impossible one. In the research seminar, it is true, students do not have a choice of subject except the limited choice sometimes available when two sections of the course are given in the same quarter at times not in conflict with other classes or field work. Had the six hundred students who have completed research seminars in the last four years all sought their own subjects for individual study, it is questionable how much

⁶ American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, "Curriculum in Psychiatric Social Work Accepted by Action of the Executive Committee, December 13, 1943," p. 3. (Mimeographed.)

real choice they would have had, and one wonders how many of the final choices would have been determined by desperation. The wear and tear on students, faculty, and agency staffs of this number of students in search of topics is sobering to contemplate.

3. Another indictment against the thesis was the unpredictability in advance of the suitability of the subject. On the one hand, some subjects simply petered out—subjects that looked promising both to the student and to the faculty member he consulted. Students often invested a considerable amount of time before discovering that the material was too thin to supply the basis for a good thesis. The value of this as a first experience in research would seem to be largely negative. On the other hand, students sometimes struck unforeseen riches, and the subject became more complicated than was suitable for handling in a student study and involved more time than we expected. Limitation was sometimes possible by lopping off a whole area, but neither students nor faculty advisers were notably successful in solving this problem.

In the research seminar, again, it is up to the instructor to see to it that the study undertaken is a manageable one and also one that will provide a substantial body of material for analysis. The instructor simply has to explore the subject enough to make certain that the material will be adequate for the project. The instructor also has to take a firm stance and ward off the inevitable attempt of the students to try to include too much, as well as curb one's own inevitable tendencies in that same direction.

4. Thesis supervision involved inefficient use of faculty time, in that we were giving students the same guidance over and over again. We considered developing thesis seminars so that we could give

a group of students some of the instruction we were giving individually. This was not feasible because students started at different times and worked at different paces and on vastly different subjects. The common denominators for good group discussion simply did not exist.

The research seminar solves this problem neatly. But it does more. It not only makes possible better use of faculty time but results in far better and more effective guidance. First, the student really has more time for joint consideration; that is, the research seminar meets three hours a week in the planning stages, an amount of "conference" time few, if any, thesis students are given by their supervisors. Second, questions and issues are more fully explored and discussed for two reasons. On the one hand, the instructor is able to concentrate on the study and hence bring more to it than to the scattered subjects of a group of thesis students; and, on the other, discussion is not confined to what the instructor and any one student see as questions but rather encompasses those of the whole group, and one question leads to another.

5. The thesis requirement did not place uniform demands upon the students or give them equal opportunity for good learning experience. This hardly bears elaboration, but one major inequality of experience might be noted. The student who does a "library" thesis, drawing his materials from published documents, has a very different experience from the one who studies case material at firsthand. We believe every social worker should be prepared for either type of work. But the student should have a good beginning in undergraduate work in finding, analyzing, and presenting material from library sources, and his term papers in professional courses should advance his abilities. While the student who does a "li-

brary" thesis certainly has experience far beyond that of term-paper depth, he has none at all with research in case materials. All the research seminars have dealt with case materials.⁷

While the research seminars have varied widely in the opportunities for learning they have afforded and in the demands made on students, the variation is not to be compared with that which characterized different thesis subjects. Within each group project, of course, the same demands are placed upon the students.

Our present plan, then, meets the five major counts in our indictment of the thesis. There are three further advantages that bear emphasis:

1. Students participate from start to finish in a study that can be as well planned, as disciplined, and as orderly as the instructor can make it. The planning is far more thorough. The extent and depth of class discussion has already been noted, but some of the means to this end bear mention. On the one hand, some students from each group bring from experience in the field special knowledge that is relevant and valuable in the discussions that go on from start to finish in this course. On the other, the instructor may use his colleagues who have special competence in the area of the study as consultants, and agency staff members may often be involved in the group project in a more effective way than is possible in the case of an individual study. The problems encountered in the course of the study are detected more promptly and solved more adequately. The collec-

tion of material is far better organized. Each student's work is checked and rechecked at every stage. Analysis of the data can be carried farther than in the small individual study.

2. The group approach holds positive advantages. On the one hand, the student's interest is stimulated and sustained. On the other, there is an element of security in the group. Particular note has been taken of this in relation to the individual part of the group project, namely, the student's preparation of his paper. But from the outset the student knows that the study will be completed on schedule. He knows when he can commit himself to take a new job.

3. Finally, the plan holds advantages for the field. The co-operating agency can rely upon obtaining the data and upon obtaining them within six months. The data will be more extensive and, on the average, far more accurate than those of the individual thesis student. The agencies are hardly subjected to more inconvenience by the organized blitz of record-reading by the group over a short period of time than by a single student (or several) over a longer, less certain period. While the study cannot be shaped so closely to the agency's interest, perhaps, and while the student papers are not usually so complete as theses, these disadvantages would appear to be far outweighed by the certainty of obtaining more accurate and extensive basic materials.

One argument that is occasionally advanced for the thesis is that it tests the "staying power" of the student, his ability to initiate and carry through a project. Perhaps it does, but perhaps it tests the staying power of his pocketbook. In any event, if staying power is interpreted as serious professional purpose, the school of social work has many tests. As for re-

⁷ While the requirement that the thesis involve research on case materials would have insured the experience to all, the particular problem of finding a suitable subject for individual study which involves use of case materials has already been noted. The problems of supervising such individual research were also greater than in the library study.

search, it puts a test that seems inappropriate in our field. Why should the student's first experience be an individual one? He is not likely to be called upon to make an independent study as his next experience. He is likely to work with others. Within our two-year curriculum, moreover, we do not pretend to be preparing research specialists in social welfare. Further study and experience would be needed to fit all but the exceptionally gifted to plan and direct research.

A second question that may be raised concerns the role of the instructor. As here portrayed, the instructor's role is an active one which follows from the purpose of the course. That purpose is professional, and it is the instructor who is competent to shape the particular project to those educational ends. It is the instructor who knows the means and goals the course serves and the hazards that beset their realization. Since the students are new to research, it is the instructor alone who must see to it that the design of the study is sound and rigorously carried out in the collection and analysis of material. The learning experience provided by a research effort that goes astray in the planning stages is limited to say the least. This primary purpose does not exclude encouragement of the group to follow its interests within limits in shaping the study, nor does it rule out good group experience for the students as a desirable by-product.

Another question that has been asked concerns the demands made upon the student. In general, the group project certainly demands less hours than the thesis, though some few thesis students doubtless spend less time than do group-project students. The group project is

"easier" in that a few students who had actually become hopelessly bogged down in their thesis materials have taken the research seminar and done creditable work, a far higher proportion of students do well in the seminar, and only a few fail to complete the course at an acceptable level of performance. On the other hand, however, students actually appear, on the average, to do more careful and precise work, to handle the data more competently, and to write better papers judged qualitatively. Thus, it would seem that the demands are different but not less exacting. The real test, of course, would be to compare abilities to contribute to research in the field.

In this discussion no qualifications have been put upon the superiority of the present plan. From our experience thus far we have none. Of course, we are better satisfied with some projects than with others. We hope in the future to develop further criteria for selection of good projects and to improve teaching methods. We are convinced that students going out of the seminar take with them more that is more widely applicable than any but the exceptional thesis student who happened to select an exceptional thesis topic. As one agency executive recently put it, it is her impression that new workers who have just completed a thesis come to the agency with a feeling of having survived an irrelevant ordeal or, in the case of those whose theses are incomplete, with a sense of having left unfinished something that remains to overwhelm them, whereas new staff entering the agency after experience in the group project come with a feeling of having at hand a tool with which to work.

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A CURRENT FORMULATION OF CLIENT-CENTERED THERAPY¹

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WHAT I should like to do in this paper is to rethink, in somewhat new words, a description of the phenomenon which we term "therapy." I want to stress at the outset that it is the phenomenon which is basic, not the words. For more than ten years a group of therapists to whom the labels "nondirective" and "client-centered" have been applied have observed a characteristic process of change in those clients who appear to have been helped by their interviews. This process appears to remain relatively unchanged, though we think that we know better how to create the conditions for it and how to enable it to proceed more deeply. Nevertheless, this relatively stable phenomenon remains the basis of all our thinking. The therapist is continually trying to understand it more deeply, to learn the principles of its occurrence and the ways in which he may act consistently with those principles.

In contrast to the relative stability of the phenomenon itself, the formulations and descriptions of it are continually changing as we look at the experience this way and that and try to find verbal explanations and theories which will contain our understanding of the process. As we seek, by clinical intuition and objective research methodology to extract the essential truth regarding this com-

plex phenomenon, the words we use to describe and explain it keep shifting. This paper is another in a series of changing formulations (10, 9, 11).

THE PHENOMENON

What is this therapeutic process which merits explanation? Some forty research studies, fragmentary and exploratory though they may be, give evidence that here is something worthy of investigation. This is true even though we have been forced to begin by studying those aspects most easily measured and have not necessarily measured the most significant aspects of therapy. I shall list here a series of statements, each with its research reference(s), which summarize as of today our objective evidence regarding the basic experience.

We may say that there is research evidence that in client-centered therapy the following changes occur in the client and tend to occur more markedly in those cases which both counselor and client regard as "successful."

There is a change in the client's attitudes toward himself, negative attitudes giving way to positive attitudes, this being particularly marked in the attitudes toward the self as it is perceived now, in the present (7, 16, 14).

There is a change from nonacceptance of the self to a greater degree of acceptance of self as a person of worth, a person who can perceive his own experience without distortion or denial, who can base his standards and values upon his own experience rather than upon the attitudes and desires of others (15).

The client comes to perceive himself with more objectivity, with less emotion (18); he ex-

¹ Paper given at meeting of the Chicago Chapter, American Association of Social Workers, Chicago, April 17, 1950, and also delivered to the National Symposium on New Trends in Counseling and Psychotherapy at the University of Illinois.

periences himself as more spontaneous, genuine, integrated, and independent (5, 12).

There is a decrease in psychological tension as verbally expressed (13, 21).

There is a decrease in physiological tensions in frustrating situations as measured by psychogalvanic reactions and other indexes (19).

There is a decrease in the frequency of defensive behavior which is exhibited (2).

There is an increase in the degree of acceptance of and respect for others and in positive attitudes toward others (15, 18).

There is an increase in the maturity of reported behavior (3).

There is an improvement in adjustment to job and training situations as rated by impartial observers (1).

There seems to be a significant alteration in personality structure as measured by objective and projective tests, this change being in the direction of lessened anxiety, greater integration, greater emotional stability and control, and increased sociability and self-confidence (6, 8).

These statements represent the phenomenon of therapy as it has begun to emerge from the objective research studies completed to date. In themselves these statements represent a new trend in the formulation of client-centered therapy—a tendency to describe both the phenomena and the process in terms of operationally defined concepts which have been objectively measured with a known degree of reliability. Any of these findings can be checked by any competent scientific worker either on the cases originally investigated or upon a new group of recorded cases. They open the way to many new and, we hope, deeper studies.

THE CONDITIONS

What are the conditions which bring about these phenomena of change? Here we have as yet very little research upon which to base our statements, but we are not wanting in clinical hypotheses.

It has seemed to us that the client-centered therapist operates primarily

upon one central and basic hypothesis which has undergone relatively little change with the years. This hypothesis is that the client has within himself the capacity, latent if not evident, to understand those aspects of his life and of himself which are causing him unhappiness or pain, and the capacity and the tendency to reorganize himself and his relationship to life in the direction of self-actualization and maturity in such a way as to bring a greater degree of internal comfort. The function of the therapist is to create such a psychological atmosphere as will permit this capacity and strength to become effective rather than latent or potential.

How does the therapist implement this function, creating an atmosphere in which self-directive therapy can take place? We have been able, in practice, to create the appropriate conditions with a majority of our clients, and what follows is a current attempt to formulate the essential aspects of the conditions for therapy as they are determined by the therapist.

1. The therapeutic phenomenon seems most likely to occur when the therapist feels, very genuinely and deeply, an attitude of acceptance of and respect for the client *as he is*, with the potentialities inherent in his present state. This means a respect for the attitudes which the client now has and a continuing acceptance of the attitudes of the moment, whether they veer in the direction of despair, toward constructive courage, or toward a confused ambivalence. This acceptance is probably possible only for the therapist who has integrated into his own philosophy a deep conviction as to the right of the individual to self-direction and self-determination.

It may help to discuss briefly the meaning of the term "respect," as we

have been using it. In other orientations there is also respect for the client or patient, but this is usually respect for the person as *unrevealed*. It is a respect for something underneath, not respect for the person as he seems to himself at that moment. In client-centered therapy, however, the counselor attitude which we have found most fruitful is a complete acceptance of the person as he seems to himself at that moment. It is only as *he* is dissatisfied with this self that he explores further into his attitudes and feelings.

2. A second and corollary condition making for therapy is the complete willingness of the therapist for the center or locus of evaluation and responsibility to remain with the client. All judgments, all evaluations, all changes in evaluations, are left to the client. The counselor not only avoids voicing any evaluations of the client—or his behavior, or the meaning of his behavior, or the behavior of others—but, by his immersion in the empathic process, tends to avoid *making* these judgments. Likewise responsibility is left with the client—whether it be responsibility for choosing the next topic of his conversation or responsibility for some grave choice with regard to himself and his future. This whole attitude on the part of the therapist is, if it is to be effective, real and not forced. It is a basic willingness to help the client realize his own life in his own terms and an unwillingness to attempt to take over the responsibility for his life or any part of it.

3. A third condition for therapy is the therapist's willingness and sensitive ability to understand the client's thoughts, feelings, and struggles from the client's point of view. This ability to see completely through the client's eyes, to adopt his frame of reference, has seemed to be an important way of implementing the

fundamental hypothesis and is the basis for the use of the term "client-centered." To receive completely what the client is trying to communicate of his feelings even when his communication is confused or incoherent or fragmentary—to be able to enter into the client's private world and see it from *his* point of view—this is what we mean by adopting the client's frame of reference.

4. A fourth condition of therapy is that the counselor use only those techniques which implement these basic attitudes. Techniques are definitely secondary to attitudes, and seemingly poor technique may succeed if attitudes are sound, while we have not found the reverse to hold true. The most helpful techniques have seemed to be those that communicate something of the attitudes which the therapist deeply holds—his acceptance of the person as he is at this moment and his empathic understanding of the client's attitudes as seen from the client's point of view.

5. Perhaps another aspect of the therapist's function should be mentioned. This is the matter of limits. I feel quite uncertain about this, but my present hypothesis is that the therapist sets those limits which make it possible for him to maintain his own attitudes. If I doubt that I could fully accept in play therapy a child who broke up all the furniture, then I think of breaking furniture as a limit I would set upon the child's behavior, so that he might experience complete acceptance within the relationship as defined. If, with an adult client, I question my ability to remain completely accepting and alertly empathic for a two- or three-hour stretch, then I limit the contact to one hour. In general it may be said that these limits apply to behavior. If the therapist finds it necessary to limit the expression of

attitudes in their verbal or symbolic form, then it is very doubtful if the client will experience acceptance.

These would seem to us to be the ways in which the therapist carries out his basic hypothesis. In one sense all these conditions are wrongly described, since it is the experiencing of these by the client which is significant for therapy. It could be more truly stated that the conditions of therapy are met when the client experiences the respect and acceptance the therapist has for him, experiences an empathic understanding, experiences the locus of evaluation as residing within himself, experiences no significant limitation on the expression of his attitudes. I have chosen, however, to describe the situation as the counselor perceives it in trying to establish the conditions.

It is doubtless clear that many conditions which have often been regarded as essential are not mentioned, either because they are regarded as unnecessary or because they seem to be detrimental. Included in these unmentioned items are psychological diagnosis of the client; a transference relationship fostered by the therapist; and such therapist intentions as interpretation, advice, guidance, reassurance, and the like.

THE PROCESS

When the therapist is successful in meeting the foregoing conditions, what is the process that is experienced by the client? I can only touch briefly upon the most common characteristics of a rich and complex process. I will try to describe therapy largely from the client's point of view, as accurately as we are now able to perceive it. The elements I describe are very roughly in order of occurrence, but all the elements overlap to a considerable degree.

1. In the first place the client finds it a very unique experience. One puzzled client described it as "a relationship without interaction." The fact that the therapist has put aside the self of ordinary interaction and is in this situation primarily an instrument of understanding means that the client finds only himself in the interview. It is a situation which he can use to investigate himself, but he finds that all but himself is, in effect, absent from the experience. Our best evidence of the uniqueness of the experience comes not from naïve clients but from those who have experienced therapy carried on from other orientations. They are unanimous in commenting on the very different "feel" of this experience.

2. The client gradually finds himself using the therapist as another image of himself, as an alter ego in an operational and technical sense. Some client statements describing the experience may clarify what is meant. One client says of the counselor, "Sometimes he would say, '———, is that what you mean?' and I was conscious of a desire to get what I had said clarified, not so much to him as a person but, through him, clarified to myself." Another client description of the counseling experience is as follows: "In counseling we were mostly *me* working on my situation as I found it. . . . I was the one that mattered, my thinking was the thing that was important, and my counselor was almost a part of me working on my problem as I wanted to work on it."

Here is an expression of what is meant by experiencing the therapist as an alter ego—"we were me." It is as though the client was talking to himself but that this conversation is very different when carried on through the medium of another person. Perhaps another way of describ-

ing this element is that the client finds in the counselor a mirror image of himself, empathically perceiving the same situation in the same way but without the emotional involvement which the client himself feels. This is a clarifying experience making possible clearer and more differentiated perception.

3. In the interview the client experiences responsibility for himself. This is not something talked about or intellectualized. He experiences it in everything he chooses to say or to withhold. Many clients welcome and use this responsibility from the first. Those who are more dependent upon the opinions and attitudes of others are fearful of it and experience it as threatening. As one client puts it rather challengingly, "Why, I could just talk about the weather." But, when this is accepted, he thinks one step further and says, "But why would I do that if there are things that are bothering me?" This is the experiencing of responsibility for self.

4. Another element of client-centered therapy, an element on which we already have some research data, is the client's experience of exploration (20, 17). We know clinically that, in exploring his perceptual field, he tends first to talk about things relatively remote from the organization of self—about others, about his job, his symptoms, his environment. Most of the attitudes expressed are negative. Gradually he finds himself talking more about himself, again with largely negative attitudes. He also tends in the direction of discussing those experiences which do not seem to be a part of himself—experiences which he has not "owned" or which he has denied to awareness. More and more the therapeutic experience centers around the self and its relationship to these denied or distorted experiences. Of that I shall have more

to say in a moment. In general, however, the exploration of the perceptual field tends to go from others to self, from symptoms to self, from surface concerns to deeper concerns, from past to present, from experiences in awareness to experiences which have been denied to awareness.

5. In making this exploration into areas more and more dangerous to himself, the client finds the consistency of his peculiar relationship to the therapist a deep support. Here he finds that he can lay bare himself in a way that would expose himself to hurt, but without being hurt. Here there is no evaluation by another—no interpretation which might be threatening, no criticism which might devalue him, no praise or reassurance which might be withdrawn. As one client says:

I remember a good deal of emotional tension in the second interview where I first mentioned homosexuality. I remember that I felt drawn down into myself, into places I didn't want to go, hadn't quite been before, and yet had to see. . . . I had been so afraid before counseling began that I would get to that subject. And afraid that I wouldn't. . . . I still remember the warm acceptant voice of the counselor and my feeling that it was just a little more acceptant than I could be of the fears I was expressing, but not enough different to be reassuring in a threatening way.

Thus the client finds that he can hate, fear, or love others, himself, or the counselor; can be perplexed, confused, and frightened; but always be met by the experience of being understood, of being accepted as worthy of respect at this moment in the feelings that he has. He is safe in the deepest psychological sense.

6. It should be mentioned that along with the process of exploration is the experience of progress. The client finds that something new is occurring within himself, and it is the experiencing of these

bits of progress which, I believe, gives him continuing courage to face the often painful road ahead. Thus one client who had explored something of her relationship to her parents had mentioned one traumatic childhood incident. Writing of her experience after the interview, she says:

I think I was about five or six, but I can remember every detail of that scene; and up to and including Tuesday evening I have never been able to think of that occasion without experiencing the awful childish agony and terror as if it were yesterday. Well, last night [after the interview] I thought of it again, and, do you know, every bit of that emotion has vanished, and it's just something that happened to me once.

It is this experiencing of minor progress along the way which probably deserves more study than has been given to it.

7. In exploring himself, the client discovers inconsistencies or discrepancies, and the more serious and threatening of these are the discrepancies between himself, as he has perceived himself, and the experiences which he has denied to awareness. If he admits the experience, the whole structure of the self is thereby disorganized and will have to be altered. The deeper the contradiction between self as seen and experience as it is now recognized, the more painful is the therapeutic experience. One client describes this experience as "the amorphous, disorganized state I've gotten into."

To illustrate from client experience, a young woman has always thought of her father as bad, of herself and her mother as good and has felt (she thinks) only dislike for her father. But in the exploratory aspects of therapy she recognizes that she has at times experienced something very like affection. She says of the interview:

In this interview I came close to saying that I liked my father sometimes. . . . When I asked,

"What does that do to the basis of my whole life?" I could barely speak. I felt more deeply than I can describe that I had reached a point far away from everything I had ever known. Despair, fear, and grief—all greater than any I had felt before—were behind the question.

Here she is experiencing the fact that admitting love for her father will make necessary the reorganization of her whole self—a most frightening possibility.

8. It is in this process of facing experiences hitherto denied that the client perceives relationships which he has never seen before. This takes place as the organization of self is relaxed in the secure experience of therapy, and the experience of insight occurs. We know this occurs with increasing frequency as therapy goes on (16, 14). An illustration can be given from an interview with the client just mentioned, as she summarizes the new perceptions of her relationship with her father.

Now I seem to have got around—if I can believe the last couple of interviews—to saying that I both hate him and wish that I could like him, and at times even do like certain things that I remember about him, and particularly like certain qualities which I see in myself and which before I felt I ought to hate because they resemble him.

9. Having faced some of these denied experiences, the client begins to reorganize the structure of self in such a way as to include them. Thus the client above is now constructing a self in which both love and hate for her father are a part of the pattern and in which her own experiences of herself in relation to him can be freely woven into the structure rather than denied.

This building of a revised self involves finding one's self in one's real experiences, not trying to impose a rigid structure of self upon experience and denying those elements which do not fit. Probably for

this reason the client experiences less basic physiological and psychological tension and feels more respect for himself.

A vivid internal account of this discovery of self is given by a client. Speaking of the terrific effort it has taken to hold life-experiences in an arbitrary pattern, she continues:

Until at last you are so tired that even that awful confusion is better than holding on any longer. Then you discover that left to themselves the jumbled pieces fall quite naturally into their own places, and a living pattern emerges without any effort at all on your part. Your job is just to discover it, and in the course of that you will find yourself. . . . You must let your own experience tell you its own meaning: the minute *you* tell it what it means, you are at war with yourself.

It is this basing of self on the natural patterning of sensory and visceral experience freely admitted into awareness which seems to be one of the highly important aspects of therapy.

10. Another phase of therapy is the experiencing of this reorganized self in action. If the reorganization has been considerable in extent and depth, then the client is likely to experience a raw, newborn, uncertain, fluctuating quality about himself which puzzles him. One client finds himself expressing anger more freely when he feels it rather than bottling it up. Another finds herself expressing affection freely toward her mother. The individual finds that his behavior changes not as a result of struggle but rather unconsciously and spontaneously. He feels, in spite of his uncertainty, a curious assurance in himself because he is more his real self, because he is acting on experiential data clearly perceived. He no longer feels so much need to judge his actions by the standards of others. He feels that he can base

his evaluations upon his own experience (4), which he perceives more objectively and with less highly negative or highly positive emotion. He dares to launch out on his own, not with the feeling that all his problems are resolved or that he completely understands himself or has completely reorganized himself, but with the feeling (where therapy is most successful) that he has learned to look clearly at his own experiences as they occur and to accept them and to guide himself in view of them. He recognizes that it is frightening thus to perceive his own experiences without distortion but that it is less dangerous than to deny them. Again I turn to a client to phrase this experience in a statement written three months after the conclusion of therapy:

I haven't finished the job of integrating . . . myself, but that's only confusing, not discouraging, now that I realize this is a continuing process. This is something I didn't know during the last six weeks of counseling when I was afraid to end the sessions because I thought I would have to stay with whatever were my last conclusions about myself, and how would I know they were any more right than those in any other session? I have worried less about it these past weeks as I have seen my behavior reflecting some inner changes. The behavior makes me like myself better so it is easier to accept the occasionally contradictory shifts. It is exciting, sometimes upsetting, but deeply encouraging to feel yourself in action and apparently knowing where you are going even though you don't always consciously know where that is.

CONCLUSION

This concludes my attempt to reformulate the process of client-centered therapy. In its brevity it may be misleading, since each phase calls for far more amplification than I have given it here. Yet if this statement can serve a skeletal purpose, providing the bones which can be fleshed out with the case

material, the clinical observations, the research, and the theory which are coming from the client-centered field, it will have accomplished its purpose.

I am quite aware that the basic phenomenon which I have been describing could be formulated in terms of conceptual learning, in terms of field theory, in terms of theory of repression. There are many ways in which any complex experience may be formulated in verbal terms. I have tried to put my description in the terms which have seemed most meaningful to those in the field and to

make clear the present trends in the formulation of this therapy. These trends are: the tendency to put all our descriptions, as rapidly as possible, in objective and verifiable terms; to stress the attitudinal orientation of the therapist rather than his technique; and to utilize, in describing the process, the concept that the structure of the self undergoes partial disorganization and reorganization in such a way as to include experiences formerly denied to awareness.

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CLIENT-CENTERED CASE WORK¹

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

THE profession of social work might be described as an expression of the conscience of the community. It might be described also as having an integrative function. Its charge is to help individuals one by one and group by group make productive use of the environment. Its charge also is to help groups safeguard and create conditions favorable for the maximum development of the individual's potentialities. The insistent focus is on relating the inner forces and capacities of man to his external pressures and demands in the interest of a socialized adaptation. The social worker in a variety of functional roles at several operating levels continuously is focused on the relationship of man to his environment, with the purpose of helping him effect a constructive interrelationship.

Social case work helps individuals one by one. It has varied ways of helping. It aims to be therapeutic. It is not a therapy. It is guided by working principles derived from a philosophy and a body of knowledge. Social case-work practice is not sufficiently formalized to have a body of techniques readily applicable in given situations or for uniform use. All social case work is client centered in the sense of being closely oriented to the needs, capacities, resources, aspirations, motivations, and strivings of the individual. All social case work is client centered in

the sense of according the individual the right to self-determination within social limits. As he turns to a social agency for help, presumably it is because he is temporarily or chronically, in small, considerable, or great measure, unable to function alone. The extent and the nature of the case worker's activity are determined by the individual's need, capacity, resources, motivations, and behavior responses at this point of breakdown in his self-dependence. Hence the activity factor is client centered in that it is determined by what the individual *now* can do, and it moves in an ongoing way toward what he increasingly can do. I state a few of the major concepts and premises by which we work. I select only those essential for comparison of the social case-work helping process with "Client-centered Therapy" as presented by Dr. Rogers.

Man continuously is engaged in a struggle for survival. The urge to survive is his most basic impulse. His biological nature is such that for physical and psychological survival he is heavily dependent on others in the earlier years of life. The interdependent nature of a complex society destines each individual to dependence on others. Hence man's need for dependence runs very deep and persists throughout life. In the interests of survival, however, the urge to self-dependence is very strong. There is no basic security, no assurance of survival, through dependence on others. Growth impulses from infantile dependency to adult interdependence are very assertive

¹ Paper given at meeting of the Chicago Chapter, American Association of Social Workers, April 17, 1950, for group discussion to compare social case work and "Client-centered Therapy" presented by Dr. Carl R. Rogers.

when conditions favorable for their emergence have obtained in the formative years of life. In adult life it is only in instances of outright mental illness that one does not find discomfort over dependency and some resistance to regression.

This discomfort over dependency is a decisive factor. The social worker's confidence in it, his reliance on the ascendancy of the growth impulses over the regressive impulses, disposes him not to be fearful of his own activity in the helping process. It is the social worker's conviction that basic dependency needs must be met in order that the individual may make maximum use of opportunities for growth. That basic dependency needs must be met in childhood for the attainment of socialized maturity essential for democratic citizenship implies the necessity for adequate provisions for physical welfare and for intellectual development. It implies also giving, nurturing relationships as afforded in normal secure family life. Furthermore, changing emotional needs must be fully and freely met at successive developmental stages from infancy through adolescence and to some extent throughout life. Through love the child becomes loving and develops the capacity for positive relationships, the give and take of life. Through opportunity and permission to achieve he gains capacity for survival. Through both love and opportunity to achieve he lives fully and develops the capacity to let live.

Social workers encounter both adults and children whose growth is obstructed through adversities which deprive and frustrate them. They encounter them often when regressive impulses are in operation, when dependency is in the foreground, when assertive strivings toward independence are weak, dis-

torted, or in abeyance. In such instances often they find that the valid dependency of the moment must be fully and freely met in order that he may again move forward. This implies nurturing services and a giving relationship. Often the strengths, the inner and outer resources, that he brings to the situation must be identified, affirmed, and used. The individual may not need this help, but often the renewal of capacity for self-help is contingent upon the social worker's doing something to and for the individual at the start. Social workers also encounter people who long have been so deprived and frustrated that the growth impulses are submerged or underdeveloped. They will need help to become more independent, and they may or may not be able to use help to attain a more socialized maturity or to recapture their former competence.

A second concept is that of individual difference. Individuals differ widely in physical energy, in intellectual capacity, in emotional state, in motivation in their lives in general, and in seeking help. They differ widely in their needs, in their adaptations, and in the success or failure of those adaptations. This is a decisive point, for it means that they differ widely in the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction which they bring to the helping experience in which they vary in capacity to endure demand, to face reality, to become self-evaluative, to endure pain in the interest of attaining a better social adaptation. They differ widely in social norms by which realistically to evaluate their own responses. They differ widely in knowledge and reality "know-how" with which to meet actual-life demands. Furthermore, their life-situations vary greatly—from being poverty-stricken to rich in resources, material and otherwise; from presenting

slight to overwhelming pressures and demands. One individual's emotional disturbance may be commensurate and healthy, another's incommensurate and sick. One individual's maladjustment may be normal, another's a symptom of deep mental ills, organic and/or functional.

This factor of difference in individual and in situation makes essential differential study and differential diagnosis for differential treatment if the individual is to be helped. Furthermore, this factor of difference in individual and in situation makes for different demands in terms of knowledge and skill on the part of workers and in terms of kinds of services as determined by agency function and resources. Hence our practice of differentiated assignment and referral. Social work therefore cannot entertain the possibility of a therapy for all men to be practiced by all workers. A social worker's activity may be directive or nondirective or more often a flexible interplay of both. And herein lies social work's major claim to being client centered. We would consider it truly worker centered if what was done was foreordained, prescribed without close reference to individual difference.

Third, we operate on the assumption that the worker is responsible to conduct the helping process. Because he exerts, for the client's welfare, those controls implicit in professional responsibility, it does not follow that the relationship is a controlling one.

It does mean, however, that social case work is worker centered in that the worker does some thinking about the client. Certain knowledge is attained through professional education for this purpose. A social case worker cannot take responsibility for helping a person without taking responsibility also for evaluat-

ing him in the context of his life-situation. It is only as the social worker evaluates precisely that the client may be helped to become self-evaluative and self-directive. For example: A worker might set in operation a therapeutic interview in which the client is talking freely, even precipitously. The comments of acknowledgment which he, the worker, makes if selected without evaluation might touch repetitively on basic conflicts in such a way as to obstruct self-evaluation, through strengthening defenses, thus increasing projections and rationalization. Or they might crash defenses, leaving the client helpless and confused and more incapable than formerly of self-evaluation. The social case worker fears empathy without evaluation. Because a social case worker evaluates the client, it does not follow that he takes over the evaluative process. It merely means that he has the wherewithal with which either to help the client evaluate himself or to know whether the client's evaluations are realistic. The social norms, the reality demands against which a client evaluates himself, may have at times to be injected by a worker.

Fourth, when a client enters a helping relationship, it is inescapable that something is done "to and for him," even though one might wish that "he do" entirely "to and for himself." Even in those instances where a worker is nondirective, he exerts an influence on the one who has turned to him for help. Passivity, nondirection, can do a great deal to the person. The trouble is that "it does" irresponsibly rather than responsibly. Some years ago social case workers found, during an extensive phase of passivity, that the client with his feelers out for the response of the worker often became more disturbed than relieved, more coerced than freed. Not getting a re-

sponse, he talked compulsively and repetitively in endless circles, or he became immersed in understanding the worker rather than himself. The worker's uniqueness aroused anxiety which he strove to dispel through attempts to know the worker when he might better have been focused on understanding himself. In some instances he felt that the worker was indifferent, in which event he may have been driven to great lengths to provoke a response, frequently outreaching his defenses in talking and in acting out. Or, feeling the worker to be indifferent, he felt rejected, thus experiencing a repetitive rather than a corrective relationship. Hence dependencies and hostilities mounted. The relationship became increasingly complicated and often was terminated with more frustration for the client than self-realization.

The worker-client relationship in case work is a working-together to some purpose. Its characteristics are its confidential nature, its respectful nature, and its dispassionate quality. On the part of the worker it involves not just "thinking about" the client but a thinking and feeling with but not like him. Between client and worker it is a feeling-, thinking-, and doing-together to some purpose. Help for the client derives through the opportunity, in time of trouble when he is disturbed, confused, and in conflict, to experience the response of a worker who sees his problem differently, who feels it differently, but who sympathetically understands. In some ways the relationship repeats former relationships. It repeats, however, with a difference; and that difference is decisive, for it constitutes the corrective element. He wants and needs to find in the worker relatedness to, rather than identification with, or a reflection of his feelings, attitudes,

and responses. So much for the concepts and premises which are to serve as a background for my presentation of the social worker's ways of working.

The worker's initial mode of working is to bring a well-ingrained positive attitude to the client, an attitude that an applicant for help is eligible for service until proved ineligible, an applicant for help is competent until proved incompetent. When a social worker does not equate a need for help with weakness, he does not focus narrowly on the problem and what is wrong with the person (the pathology). When he does not equate a need for help with weakness, he is not fearful of his helping efforts, but instead he will focus on what help is wanted, needed, and can be used. He will focus also on what this person brings to the situation to use in his own behalf. Thus underlying strengths are discerned rather than merely the dependency and confusion, which are in the foreground.

As the worker focuses on determination of need with readiness to meet it, the client experiences social acceptance of his need. Instead of engendering greater needfulness, the worker's attitude will tend to ease humiliation and restore self-respect, at which point seemingly pathological projections and rationalizations may subside. Instead of being driven defensively to exaggerate his problem or to minimize it, the client is encouraged to present it realistically. Because of a change in feeling about himself, the client may be able to view the problem more realistically, and this often is a first step toward its solution.

The initial step in treatment is to provide favorable conditions for the client to talk productively. The social study is one of the major measures whereby the client may be helped to use his own capacities and resources. A selective his-

tory may enlighten the present problem for both client and worker. It is the means to several other ends:

As the client talks spontaneously, participates in exploration, and assumes responsibility for making his needs known, his response can early set the pattern of self-activity in his relationship with the agency.

In so far as worker and client participate in the process so that it is a thinking- and feeling-together to some purpose, a working relationship is established. The social study can be a vital part of the working-together toward the solution of the problem.

In recounting the onset of his problem, what he has done up to now, with what results, in expressing his wishes and aspirations and the obstacles to their fulfillment, the following may occur: change in feeling about the problem and about himself in relation to it. (Discharge of tension, perspective, resolution of conflict, gain in understanding, a general clarification or reorientation to his problematic situation.) The social study may constitute the treatment process, and the individual may move immediately into the solution of his problem: This will occur only in instances of acute emotional upset over a situational difficulty wherein the person's basic personality conflicts have not been activated and the total personality involved. In other instances the social study will serve merely to get started, to establish a working relationship, to define the task ahead and the ways of working. (In some instances it may increase discomfort, strengthen conflicts, and make more urgent the need for help.)

In the social study process there are certain principles of practice to which workers adhere conditionally:

Individualized direction from the

worker is essential for the client's productive use of the opportunity to talk. It is essential to make known what the agency and he himself will need to know and worker and client consider in order to solve the problem. Thereafter it is essential to direct the inquiry and to keep the client's production focused relevantly. This meets dependency need and prevents him from feeling lost in talking to no end. It helps him to be competent in coming to grips with the reality of the helping situation.

The worker does not seek information beyond what he needs to know in order to help. In relation to the content of unburdening, the worker will help the client deal with his anxiety, resentment, guilt, and other feelings: through acknowledgment and understanding of the feeling shown, through interpretation which stresses the helping purpose or his own therapeutic goal, through interpretation which universalizes, through setting time limits, and through helping him focalize on the exploration of a part of a problematic situation when over-all exploration is too involving of the total personality. The worker moves slowly in eliciting hostility in the early exploration and throughout the treatment. Often he may be active in limiting its expression. This is in order that there may not be hostility and anxiety beyond the capacity of the individual to deal with it or beyond the circumstances of his situation to afford opportunities for the redirection of hostile impulses and the constructive use of anxiety. There is no better way to foster hostile dependence and to crash defenses than to refrain from helping the client whose emotional pressure compels him to make unbridled use of a permissive interview situation. Social case workers have moved beyond the blind worship of the unburdening process

which prevailed some years ago. The vague impression that in some mysterious way it was therapeutic for a client to unburden has been corrected through knowledge and experience. Having presented some of the treatment implications of the study process, I state briefly the general principles which guide us in our use of our other helping measures—as specific services, advice, and interpretation.

Clients come to agencies largely for specific assistance (as money, help in procuring medical care, help with employment, facilities for the care of children, household management, etc.). The specific request represents an unmet need, but it may not be the basis of their social difficulty. To them, however, as unmet need, it is actually and psychologically vital in a stress situation which they are unable to carry alone. Almost invariably there are complicated feelings about not being self-sufficient. Hence, with each client, the request involves a small or a large part of himself. Though the individual is not seeking help with an emotional disturbance, he is disturbed, and the help given must take this factor into account.

Hence the specific services which the social worker renders will strengthen the client's capacities and inner resources in so far as they meet his realistic need and in so far as they are oriented to a sound understanding of him as an individual and are given in the context of a relationship in which the meaning of the experience is understood and the disturbed feelings dealt with indirectly or directly. When they are administered without reference to his feelings and in ways which make him feel deprived, humiliated, and hostile, they may demoralize him. In such practice lies the history of pauperization. It is for this reason that

the administering of the so-called "practical services" calls for case-work knowledge, understanding, and skill; for the active thinking-, planning-, and doing-together, with the client carrying as much responsibility as possible.

Advice, guidance, and educational service have been termed the "counseling component" in social case work. There was a time when social workers assumed erroneously that the difficulties which brought clients to social agencies stemmed largely from ignorance, a lack of knowing what, where, and why. Hence, they torrentially handed out advice. Then came the day when they reacted against the practice rather than against their own lack of discrimination. Rejection of the guidance role was reinforced by the stereotyped use of a number of prevailing concepts, that is, the client's right to self-determination; skepticism as to an intellectual approach; leaving the client to struggle through to his own solutions even though he struggle in the dark.

Today the principles of progressive education operate within case work in the matter of counseling or advising the client. The giving must be oriented to felt need and readiness for it. In so far as advice provokes feeling, the feeling which interferes with learning is something to be released, understood, and sometimes interpreted. Under these conditions this measure can be a vital one in helping the client become more competent and more resourceful in dealing with related problems as well as with the major problem which brought him to the agency.

With reference to interpretation as one means to self-understanding, we are not so blindly worshipful of this measure as a means to insight for the client as we were some years ago. Today we are not so fearful of it as a means to disturb him

as we were only yesterday. This obviously is because we are prepared for more discriminative use of it. We know also that insight often will be gained spontaneously by the client as he experiences change in feeling through other means than interpretation. We know, too, that change in feeling may bring a change in action, so that the problem is solved without insight gains. Interpretation as a means to understanding and insight, however, sometimes is essential for the client's maximum use of his capacities.

Certain well-recognized principles in the use of interpretation are worth noting. It should be a mutual process, with the client participating actively and the worker affirming and supplementing his self-interpretation. There are valid variations here, and in some instances it will be indicated for the worker to be more active than in others. Since clients commonly bring only a part of their life-situation and a part of themselves into the case-work relationship, care is taken that interpretation is partialized and does not involve the total personality. The total personality will be engaged only as the client incorporates interpretation and uses it. By and large, interpretation will deal with the client's response in present relationships and circumstances relevant to the immediate problem. It does not often deal with remote origins of present responses and difficulties. There are valid variations, however, in the extent to which causes and the past are explored and interpreted.

All helping measures operate within the context of a relationship the nature of which I have described. In so far as the worker has knowledge, skill, and emotional capacity to assume responsibility for its management to productive ends, the relationship element in the helping process will have benefited the client in

various ways to varying degrees. Through the relationship he may have experienced change in feeling and thinking as an easing of guilt or reinforcement of conscience. He may have gained perspective, a new feeling of security, a modified identity through which he makes more vital use of the agency's several helping measures and deals with his social situation more effectively. As this occurs, his capacities and inner resources are strengthened, so that gradually the relationship with the worker and the help of the agency no longer are needed.

The client's response in terminating is a natural outgrowth of what the total agency service and the relationship have meant to him. Consequently, termination may be self-initiated and moved into without a struggle. In other instances it will be resisted, so that the client will need help in understanding his response, in clarifying disturbed feeling about termination, and in appraising himself and his situation realistically, so that he can proceed strengthened rather than threatened. Life-circumstances and the response of others to the client often will be a factor in its timing, in that they affect his use of help in his social situation. The client's need will guide the worker in this final aspect of the helping process.

In conclusion, the social worker is not a free-lance worker concerned with individuals within the four walls of an office. Social workers operate in the context of an agency, accountable to a community, and from within a profession which is one of society's instruments for enabling the social conscience to find expression.

The very core of social work is social reform. The very core of social case work is the rehabilitation of the individual. In social case work it is realized that one

cannot rehabilitate another. Motivation and remotivation come from within the individual and his family group. As the individual and his family seek help, however, it is the responsibility of the social worker to maintain an unswerving identification with the social conscience. This means that he will bring his professional knowledge and skill, the authority which he carries as representative of a social agency, to bear upon the community to create conditions favorable for the individual's development and to provide opportunities for his growth. It means,

also, that he will use his powers to help the individual become socially competent. The social worker continuously will understand the individual, but he will not necessarily affirm his feelings, his thinking, or his acts. A basic acceptance of the social reform motive, that is, the rehabilitative goal in social case work, is occurring as social workers increasingly see it as meeting human need rather than fear it as a violation of man's right to self-determination.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE FOR SOCIAL WORKERS OF THE MULTIDISCIPLINE APPROACH TO CHILD DEVELOPMENT¹

PETER B. NEUBAUER, M.D., AND JOSEPH STEINERT

THE concept of the child as a human being, whose development is influenced by a multiplicity of factors, has been held for a great many years. These factors were usually designated as physical, social, and psychological. The tripartition of the field of child development in this way sounded convincing, as one could hardly imagine what scientific data could result from research that would not fall into one of the three categories mentioned. What seems to have happened, however, was that, with the labeling of these categories of significant factors, there was a slackening in the drive to discover the specific influences and the extent and manner of their importance in the life of the child. Research interest seemed to be diverted into preoccupation with a fragment of one or another category, as various isolated aspects of child life were investigated.

But with the emergence in modern times of the concept of the whole child as a living being in intimate dynamic relationship with his significant environment, the approach to the scientific study of the young child changes. In harmony with today's concept that the child can be understood only in terms of his integration with relevant biological, social, and psychological forces, the field of child development can no longer be seg-

mented into several dissociated professional domains. Rather, there is the recognition that child development is concerned with the integrated knowledge and philosophy of the several professions working together as a multidiscipline team. In this modern team each representative of a particular scientific discipline is aware of gaps in his knowledge and of the tentative nature of some of his scientific formulations. Therefore, there is an intensification of research and study in each scientific discipline. At the same time, while much has to be learned about child development by each profession, every team member has to learn a certain minimum about the contributions of the related professional fields. The impetus for such learning comes not only from the concepts of the whole child and of the multidiscipline approach to its study but also from the fact that specific knowledge exists and needs to be made available to the colleagues of the other professions.

This state of changing affairs affects vitally the social worker's role. In this paper we should like to consider the significance of the contributions of some of the professional disciplines in the field of child development today and to examine the resulting implications for the training and functioning of the social worker in the multidiscipline team. Since the term "social worker" covers a wide range of professional activity, we wish to state that, for the purposes of this

¹Read by Joseph Steinert at National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, April 24, 1950.

paper, we shall limit ourselves to the conception of the social worker as a member of a multidiscipline team in the field of child development.

In commenting upon the contributions of the several scientific disciplines to an understanding of child development, we should say that the fields of psychiatry, psychology, pediatrics, and psychiatric social work are more familiar to us than are those of education and anthropology. Our remarks about the several fields are based upon experience either as practitioners of one or another discipline within the field of child development or upon collaboration with colleagues from the related professions.

Psychiatry was concerned, traditionally, with the diagnostic classification of emotional deviations of the child and, to some extent, with prognosis. This approach was changed with the advent of the psychoanalytic study of the child. Psychoanalytic theory introduced the dynamic, the genetic, and the structural viewpoints in developing the concept of personality. The interplay of conscious and unconscious factors, the multidimensional composition of the personality, the basic concepts of emotional conflict and of the defense mechanisms, were among the ideas that emerged. A fuller understanding of emotional and mental pathology then resulted. In turn, this deeper comprehension of emotional dysfunctioning helped to clarify the formulation of the genetic stages of personality development and of normal growth patterns. Thus, specific treatment techniques could be developed; and the link between pathology and normal development could be made.

In practical terms, and of special relevance for social workers, teachers, and others working professionally with children, psychoanalysis has contributed a

good deal to the clarification of the child-parent relationship. Some understanding also has been contributed of basic needs and of sublimation and their processes in childhood.

Originally psychoanalytic techniques concentrated upon the unconscious components in the child's mental life. The modern emphasis, however, is to study the ego more comprehensively. Since this is the only area of the child's personality that the social worker handles, the two professions meet in the field of child development. That is, child analysts and social workers both study the whole child in terms of conscious ego aspects. But unconscious ego functions remain the professional interest of psychoanalysis.

Psychology's traditional interest in child development was psychometric. Whereas psychiatry was interested only in gross deviations from the norm, psychology's initial interest was the definition of the "average" child. From the time of Binet, child psychology was dominated by psychometry and was usually limited to the measurement of intelligence, with intellectual capacity regarded as an inborn trait. The so-called "normal" child was the focal concept, with extreme deviations from the norm—at one end, the "genius," at the other end, the mentally deficient child—defined in terms of statistical approximation or remoteness from the norm.

In the further development of child psychology, the variations within the normal are yet to be investigated. Research should be directed to finding a diagnosis of the personality of the individual child, showing the individual modes of functioning at certain ages. The clarification of such individual patterns of reaction would link child psychology and child psychiatry—psychol-

ogy having approached the description of personality from the normal to the deviant, and psychiatry from the deviant to the normal. Only by knowing these patterns of reaction could one predict how a certain individual will react to a situation that is traumatic at a certain age. For instance, patterns of reaction to toilet training at certain ages would be relevant to personality description in the present and, to some extent, in the prediction of future personality manifestations. Similarly, many significant personality traits may be derived from relatively enduring patterns of response to significant life-situations at given ages.

Like psychiatry and psychology, pediatric medicine has modified its approach to the study of child development through the years. At first, pediatrics was concerned only with the classification of pathology. Later, there emerged an interest in the total child in terms of developmental aspects of somatic growth. Modern pediatric study is also concerned with emotional reactions to illness and with the emotional sources of illness.

The concepts of psychosomatic and of somatopsychic diseases in childhood require considerable knowledge of total functioning of the individual. In this approach to child development the pediatrician's area of study at times overlaps that of the related disciplines. Thus, the organic basis for the multidiscipline approach is again demonstrated as deriving from the designation of the "total child" as the unit of study in child development.

Sociology, anthropology, and education have contributed to the understanding of child development. However, we feel ourselves able to comment upon the contributions of these disciplines only

from the psychological and psychiatric viewpoints.

With regard to education, highly useful information can be obtained from the educators about social interaction within the same age in the classroom situation. Education deals with one definite part of ego function, learning in the broadest sense; that is, new experience is utilized in order to enable the child to function in a manner acceptable to himself and to his significant peers. Since what and how the child learns depends upon considerations with which the psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the pediatrician are also interested, the modern educator must collaborate with the other specialists to work effectively in child development.

Anthropology clarifies and designates the culturally conditioned factors in the functioning of the child. The study of normal and deviant behavior in terms of cultural values and patterns in our own and in other societies is certainly relevant to child development. A knowledge of the sociological effects of cultural clashes is of direct import in the study of children. The interrelation of the various aspects would be illustrated, for instance, in a situation in which a child of immigrant parents attends a school that tries to inculcate cultural values of the society, while the family follows a diverging pattern of values and habits in living. Let us suppose part of the conflict between the family's and the new community's standards has to do with eating habits and that the child suffers consequently from malnutrition and is emotionally disturbed. To this almost oversimplified example the interests of all the professional disciplines that have been mentioned, and certainly also that of social work, would be relevant.

The rationale for the use of the multi-

professional team in child development has been made repeatedly. Inherent in this current pattern of the multidiscipline team is the replacement of extramural consultant specialists by workers of the several disciplines in active on-the-scene collaboration. Broadly speaking, two possible roles seem to be indicated for the social worker: (1) as a kind of assistant to the specialists on the team—an assistant who can handle certain cases after methods have been developed, tested, and routinized by the specialists—or (2) as a specialist for the psychosocial aspects of child development. In this latter role the social worker is the colleague with eclectic professional knowledge of the orientation of the specialists and an over-all grasp of the agency's services. The screening and handling of applicants on intake, the observation and, where possible, remedial manipulation of the child's responses to social and interpersonal situations, and the handling of community relations at the agency level would be among the various responsibilities of the social worker in this pattern.

The first-mentioned possible role for the social worker in the multidiscipline team—namely, as one who serves as an assistant to the specialists—would seem to us to be a most ungratifying and untenable position. Even in the unlikely event that a whole group of professional workers could be happy in a mass regression to the status of handmaiden to the experts—a familiar role in the formative years of psychiatric social work—we doubt there will ever be a "routine" case in meaningful work with young children. The complexity of a scientific evaluation of any child's total situation would preclude handling by formula or routine.

Certainly, were the social worker's role in the multidiscipline team defined

in this way, as that of understudy to the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the pediatrician, or other specialist, the professional demands upon her would become burdensome and impossible of fulfillment. For instance, unlike what could happen in work with adults, where a sensitive social worker's partial identification with the adult might facilitate a therapeutic relationship, in responsible therapy with children one must really know how the child functions. And for this there is no substitute for appropriate and comprehensive scientific training.

And so it is the second possible pattern—as specialist in psychosocial aspects—that seems to us to be more challenging and rewarding as the social worker's role in the multidiscipline team. However, there, too, certain difficulties become evident. As a specialist in psychosocial aspects, the social worker has been handicapped by a lack of comprehensive training in the psychosocial and social sciences. In reality, as an exponent of the psychosocial aspects, the social worker has had to synthesize knowledge from the fields of child psychology, psychiatry, pediatrics, and social science. This knowledge is sometimes fragmentary or incomplete. Thus, the social worker who attempts to function in this way is insecure in her scientific preparation and consequently vague as to the specificity and uniqueness of her contribution as a specialist. In spite of these difficulties and limitations, however, we feel that, with suitable training and experience, the social worker can develop her role as psychosocial specialist on the multidiscipline team in a professionally gratifying manner.

For the purposes of this paper, we have been emphasizing the knowledge of social and psychological aspects that the social worker should have to function

effectively on the multidiscipline team. There is, of course, plenty of room for the social worker's unique contribution in case-work services for children. In our opinion, however, the creative development of case-work skills in this field will be enhanced by the eclectic professional orientation offered by the team. However, although we do not emphasize here the case-work process but rather the scientific knowledge in child development that should augment the case worker's preparation, we certainly recognize the enrichment of the services of the multidiscipline team through specific contributions of a case-work nature.

The kind of training we have in mind, then, would be grounded upon basic professional training in case work and comprehensively augmented by selective knowledge in child development. In any event, no matter what pattern the social worker defines as her professional role, she will need to know a good deal that each colleague on the team knows about child development and something of the background and methodology of the collaborating professions. And, since each profession represented in this team is changing, constantly enlarging its fund of knowledge about child development and evolving new methods, the professional demands upon the social worker will increase concomitantly if she is to keep abreast of the other members of the multidiscipline team.

What should this knowledge comprise? How much and what kind of information about the related professions should the social worker on the multidiscipline team have to function effectively?

Certainly, there should be knowledge and understanding of normal growth patterns at each age level in our culture and of the most typical variations from the norm. These patterns of development

have to do with biological, psychological, and social manifestations; and in the realm of deviation—in psychiatric indications.

Perhaps some examples of the kind of information the social worker will need about the various growth patterns should be cited at this point. The physical growth pattern in terms of height, weight, muscular co-ordination, etc., from year to year and from month to month in the infant is information that most social workers simply do not have. Or, in the psychological realm, the social worker will need to have knowledge of activity patterns at various stages, for instance, an awareness of varying degrees of pathological significance in thumbsucking at different chronological ages, or in minor pilfering, or in pseudologia at different ages.

We do not say that the social worker in the multidiscipline team must be able to evaluate behavior in terms of normality or abnormality to the point of making differential clinical diagnoses; but we do believe that to function adequately on the team she must know what are normal indications in patterns of growth and functioning and what are significant deviations. For instance, to use a psychoanalytic example, the social worker is not called upon to determine whether a child is at the oral or the anal phase of psychosexual development or whether he is or is not at the height of his oedipal conflict, but she does need to know something about how the child will express himself at various stages of emotional development. Without such professional recognition and awareness, the social worker would be unable to screen applicants competently and to collaborate effectively with the other professional team members.

The social worker's relationship to the

multidiscipline team might be drawn diagrammatically in the following way: Consider the field of child development as represented by a circle divided into several sectors, each sector representing a specific professional discipline—as psychiatry, psychology, pediatrics, education, social science. A circle of smaller radius, drawn from the same center as that of the larger circle, would then represent the professional area of the social worker on the multidiscipline team. Again, if you visualize the fundamental knowledge of each specialized discipline as clustering about the central core, with research and insufficiently tested theoretical formulation ranged in the periphery of each sector, the rational eclecticism of the social worker as the psychosocial exponent is seen as deriving from the integration of the contributions of the other disciplines within the limit of overlapping of the two circles.

What part of the larger circle should be encompassed by the smaller, or, in other words, what should be the limit of the social worker's eclectic venture into the professional areas of her colleagues? We believe the limit would be set by the amount and kind of knowledge the social worker would need to understand the functioning of the child in his psychosocial situation. For instance, personality as such would not be studied by the social worker, but the various ways in which the personality of the child expresses itself in adaptation to living would be a relevant professional interest of the social worker. In considering that part of the field of child development mutually to be studied by psychiatry and social work, the social worker would not become involved with the genetic explanation of disturbance but would be concerned with the recognition of the

impact and the implications of the pathology upon the child's total functioning. For instance, where phobic behavior is studied, the social worker would not be involved in uncovering the genetic factors leading to the phobia but rather with the understanding of what limitations a phobic symptom may impose.

Or, in visualizing the extent of overlapping of the social worker's area with the sector of the total field occupied by the psychologist, the social worker would not extend her function into research in the genesis and nature of mental phenomena, but she would need to understand the effects of the impact upon the child of certain personality types, among other children and among adults.

The limitations in overlapping with the pediatrician's sector are obvious. No social worker would think of changing a diet or of trying to find out why a child's blood sugar showed an increase. But the social worker should certainly know the effect of crucial medical phenomena upon the child's total functioning.

Or in the area of education, the social worker, although not called upon to have comprehensive knowledge about the history and philosophy of the progressive school movement, would yet need to understand the effect upon the child of exposure to a certain kind of group at a certain age.

And again in relation to the social sciences, sociological theories and methodological slant in anthropological studies of child-rearing would be beyond the social worker's professional responsibility, yet certainly the social stresses impinging upon a particular child must be understood.

And so, in terms of her relationship to

the team, we see the social worker at the center of the team and in a strategic position for seeing the individual child functioning as a whole. From this dynamic center, as it were, the social worker would be in a position to consult with the specialists about etiological considerations in clinical situations. From consultation and collaboration with the psychiatrist and the pediatrician she could get help about possible therapeutic approaches that are based upon specialized etiological knowledge. And from the psychologist, the educator, and the social scientists the social worker could get help with regard to the remedial manipulation of a case situation.

This concept of the social worker as the psychosocial specialist on the multidiscipline team raises a number of questions as to how and where such a social worker is to be trained and by whom. Obviously, the desirable place for obtaining the kind of systematic and intensive training that is needed is the graduate school of social work, in association with suitable clinics and agencies staffed with multidiscipline teams of requisite quality. As was stated earlier, the training should be based upon case-work skills as adapted to the field of child development and upon selective orientation in the specialized aspects represented by the various scientific and other professional disciplines.

The social worker as a specialist in psychosocial aspects, in the manner we have described, should be distinguished, at one extreme, from the social worker who is mainly interested in social welfare considerations and, at the other extreme, from the social worker who practices as a psychotherapist. Indeed, the social worker who undertakes psychotherapeutic responsibilities is, strictly

speaking, no longer a case worker. We wish, therefore, to make it clear that the psychosocial specialist is not synonymous with psychotherapist. Rather, she is a social worker, who is trained for a responsible, defined, and focal role as a member of the multidiscipline team in the field of child development.

In the training of the social worker to function as described, we believe that it would be a mistake merely to summarize each professional discipline in child development for the enlightenment of the student. Rather the student should be taught that part of the various disciplines she will really need to know and to use; and this knowledge should be taught as a dynamic whole. For this purpose, the multidiscipline team could serve as teachers both on the campus and in the field. Such a design for the training of the social worker would correct the professional imbalance, insecurity, and confusion so often noticed among social workers who have drawn too heavily upon psychiatry for so long. The educational influence of the several specialists—in addition to the psychiatrist—will make for a more integrated and balanced professional development.

The composition of the multidiscipline team and the emphasis, to some extent, of one or the other discipline could vary according to the defined task of the team and its goal in the mental health field. The pattern of the multidiscipline team in child guidance is rather well known. But any agency that has to do with child development—as adoption, placement, and other child-care agencies—should have the benefit of the whole team, adapted to the needs of the particular agency.

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DISCUSSION BY CHARLOTTE TOWLE

I welcome the opportunity to comment upon this discussion in which the members of two professions, psychiatry and psychology, are concerned with the identity of a third, social work, in the interest of a more effective working relationship for the welfare of the patient. The problems defined have implications for the professional education of the several disciplines far beyond the scope of a few brief remarks.

I agree with the authors' opinion that social workers are responsible for psychosocial treatment. I agree with their opinion that course contents in child development are not adequate in the social work curriculum. I grant that social workers might well be better prepared to fulfil their psychosocial function if their study of the nature of man were oriented to the total growth process rather than more narrowly to personality formation and structure. The social worker's primary interest should be in the nurture of the individual for maximum growth. For this he should understand the nature of man as a developing individual in relation to the conditions of life essential for growth. It is conceivable, however, that the reorientation of the curriculum along these lines still might leave us with that trichotomy which the authors have noted—welfare workers at one extreme, psychosocial specialists midstream, and psychotherapists at the other extreme. This functional division pervades the practice of social work and is not peculiar to the multidiscipline program. When social work as a profession has matured, in the sense of accepting its responsibilities and its limitations, in the sense also of finding its own identity, all social workers will be psychosocial specialists. For example, a so-called welfare worker in a public assistance program or other social agency will have that psychological understanding and social insight with which to administer programs and to render services in ways that are psychotherapeutic. Recognition of and a demand for the knowledge and skill involved in work of this nature within the profession and in collaborating professions should enable social workers to use their education more appropriately. Their striving for the psychotherapeutic function as a defense against the handmaiden role has had many determinants other than the very real curriculum lacks mentioned in the authors' presentation. Time does not permit a comprehensive evaluation of these

factors. I shall focus on the more obvious ones in multidiscipline settings.

There will be no handmaiden problem in multidiscipline programs where trained social workers are granted their appropriate function. In these instances social workers will participate in staff deliberations with the right to define and to decide their responsibility. They will make social work recommendations rather than accept social work prescriptions. They may take issue with the dictates of other specialists. There will be no menial tasks, because certain social services commonly regarded as "hack work" will be done differentially rather than routinely or ill-advisedly. In such a situation not only will they participate in decisions affecting those policies which influence practice but they may well be given a leadership role in this area. The social worker has been trained to focus on external pressures, on the conditions of the individual's life in relation to his needs, responses, and capacities. The current agency experience is a vital life-experience for the patient or client, and it is the social worker's special province to remove the social reality obstacles which may become psychological deterrents to his productive use of the service. Hence when social workers are free to put first things first, they may initiate action toward the modification of procedures and practices. In an institution, an agency, and a community where there are multiple services available, the social case worker is prepared to play an integrative role in bringing services together in an economical and appropriate treatment procedure. There is evidence of this in the effective multidiscipline work which is being done today within the context of social agencies where social workers are administrators. In how many multidiscipline programs under administrative auspices other than social work is the social worker's education in administration being used to the utmost? In some his overtures in this area have been opposed. And because sometimes the psychiatrist is so engrossed in everything but psychotherapy, the social worker has become the psychotherapist. The result in some instances has been poor administration and poor psychotherapy.

I affirm the authors' opinion that the social worker should find his own area of research in multidiscipline programs rather than take over the psychiatrist's focus or wholly play a subordi-

nate part in the research of another profession. That social workers have not done so is due to two factors. First, there are definite educational lacks in their own professional training. In the two-year Master's degree program it is not possible for social case workers to attain that competence in social research which will enable them to initiate and conduct research without supervisory help. It is only as more social workers are trained beyond the Master's degree level that leadership in social research can be brought into multidiscipline programs. Second, the research orientation they do bring or that eventually they may bring will not be used to the utmost until the administrators of these programs recognize and value research of a nature which is appropriately the responsibility of social work. Time does not permit comment upon the nature of social work research beyond a few examples. The social worker might be concerned to discover what the regime of a particular institution or agency is doing to facilitate or defeat its treatment aims. What are the intake procedures of this clinic or agency doing to obstruct psychotherapy or to make intake an initial therapeutic experience? How may the regulations, policies, and procedures of this health or welfare program become an integral part of treatment? This area of research is only one of several appropriate ones, but it is a particularly important one today as we move into a more supportive social order in which health and welfare programs increasingly are being established. It is the social worker's natural province to evaluate and make known not only what services people need but also what existent services are doing to people in doing something for them.

The several disciplines in a multidiscipline program will make productive use of one another in practice, in teaching, and in research when each profession has respect for the individuality of the other. This implies that each must have knowledge and understanding of the nature of the other's training, function, and general approach. This knowledge is easy to impart, but understanding involves the elimination of certain traditional hierarchies and power and prestige strivings. Educational method in the several disciplines as much as curriculum content is decisively important in this connection. When education in these professions gives attention to the emotional growth of the learner as well as to his acquisition of knowledge and skill, concern for the recipient of the profes-

sional service will surpass self-concern, so that collaboration in the full sense of the word may replace the competitive struggle which underlies some of our present efforts. Time does not permit elaboration of this statement.

In the present scene competition and distorted use of one another have been heightened, not by the differences in training and function of the several disciplines, but by their likeness. For example, in the psychiatrist-social worker relationship some psychiatrists fear social workers because of the element of common knowledge and skill. They may then begrudge the social worker his valid psychosocial function and relegate him to a routine service function. Others overevaluate and misuse this likeness. When fearful, some seemingly handle their rivalry through identification as a defense, and the defense is to absorb the social worker as an assistant. The social worker becomes the psychotherapist of a lesser order who must forever work under his tutelage. The current shortage of psychiatrists has made this solution a readily justified one. He has been able to "make do" with the social worker in this capacity on the basis of the social worker's understanding of human behavior, some knowledge of psychopathology, and understanding of the helping relationship and its management and interviewing skills. Social workers have been responsive to this use of their professional training for many reasons. A notable one is that their identification with the psychiatrist as a mentor from whom and through whom they have learned often has aligned them with his profession. This propensity often has been reinforced by social case-work educators who through their vital educational and psychoanalytic relationships with psychiatrists have lost or subordinated their identification with social work. Since social work always will need to depend upon psychiatry for its educational and re-educational contribution, this problem will be solved only as the members of both professions recognize it and deal with it in the context of the teacher-pupil, doctor-patient relationships. It must be recognized and accepted among the several collaborating professions engaged in the promotion of human welfare that there is a common need for a core content of knowledge, understanding, and skill which each must have for different use. No one profession should have a corner on it, doling it out to others as the donor's fears and defenses permit or as service exigencies dictate.

In educational circles it increasingly is being recognized that all professions engaged in the promotion of human welfare have a common need for education which implants disciplined thinking and feeling which approximates scientific method; knowledge and understanding of human growth and change, of human behavior, of social forces, and of cultural factors as both outgrowth and determinant of human needs and strivings. There is a necessity also for a common philosophy of the needs, rights, and obligations of the individual in a democracy. For the interrelated multiple discipline services of the health and welfare programs of the future we can envisage the development of certain educational trends now discernible.

1. An integration of the biological and social sciences in preprofessional education. It is conceivable that all students preparing for professions directly concerned with human welfare might begin to collaborate early through learning together some of the core of knowledge and social insight which these professions demand.

2. Since professional education is education for use, these contents extended and deepened would be taught and retaught in the professional schools in the context of the individual profession's function. Collaboration would occur through courses taught by specialists in related fields and also through the use of clinics and multidiscipline agencies for supervised practice. In the interdiscipline teaching within professional schools two notable principles have been established in social work education. First, the importance of the learner's identification with mentors in his profession makes it essential that contents taught by specialists in related fields be accepted for and incorporated into social work use by social work educators. Second, when one profession teaches another, it should be with close reference to the learner's function and with an attempt to orient the content to the

nature of the learner's work and to the nature of his helping relationship. This inevitably implies that the social work educator predominantly will teach the use of the related learning.

3. Post-professional education through in-service training programs, in professional schools or in clinic or agency training centers, can differ from that of the initial professional training. Trained and experienced practitioners who have a well-established identity with their own profession can take much teaching from the members of another profession in a multidiscipline group. The members of several professions can work together with reference to several functions, each taking back to his own discipline what he has learned for use there. This kind of learning experience is now in progress at the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, where the experienced members of several professions engaged in child welfare work are studying under the tutelage of psychiatrists and pediatricians.

In conclusion, I summarize that the problems defined in this able discussion seem to me to be due in part to the lacks in social work education which have been noted. I believe, however, that the solution goes beyond the addition of certain curriculum contents. Educational method in the several professions concerned as well as growth in capacity of each for interprofessional relationship also are involved. Ralph Tyler states: "A profession may be said to be maturing when its members see its function in relation to that of other professions, when it begins to work beyond its own confines, collaborating wholeheartedly but not diffusely for the welfare of mankind rather than for the selfish interest of the group." I regard the concern of these authors with the contribution of a colleague profession as a first step in this growth process.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HOW MUCH SOCIAL WELFARE CAN WE AFFORD?¹

H. L. LURIE

THE wording of a topic for discussion has considerable significance. No audience such as this would want to discuss the topic "How Little Social Welfare Can We Afford?"—meaning, "How much more social welfare is to be inflicted on us?" That unfortunately may be the question in the minds of some people outside this room.

We who are brought together by our interest and sympathy for the goals of social welfare are really asking: "How much more social welfare can we achieve?" This involves such questions as, first, "How much social welfare do we need?"; second, "Are we able to afford the social welfare programs that we need?"; and, third—and most important—"How much social welfare are we willing to pay for?"

HOW MUCH SOCIAL WELFARE DO WE NEED?

The question of how much social welfare we need is not a matter of wishful thinking or speculation as it might have been in the early stages of our social work history. The blueprints for a practical social welfare program are available as the results of considerable research and social planning. Today we are able to recognize and define the basic essentials for social well-being in terms of concrete and, for the most part, measurable realities.

¹ Address given at the Annual Meeting of the Buffalo Council of Social Agencies, January 18, 1950.

WHAT ARE THE BASIC NEEDS?

It has recently been estimated by a congressional committee which is studying the problem of low-income families that there are at least 9,600,000 families—one out of every four families—whose income level falls below \$2,000 a year. This does not include 5,920,000 individuals not in families whose total annual income is also under \$2,000. The figures show that over 40 per cent of these families have incomes of less than \$1,000 a year. These and other marginal-income families are those with whom the social welfare agencies of the community are primarily concerned.

What kind of families are involved in this large group of submarginal Americans, and what are the reasons for their economic plight? The study indicates that one large section consists of those families in which the head is above the age of sixty-five. Many of them are subsisting on the little they can earn or on meager help from friends and relatives. Other low-income families involve younger wage-earners who may be partially disabled or handicapped, employable skilled workers who subsist on part-time or occasional employment, unskilled workers, and broken families in which the mother may be the chief breadwinner. Some of these families are receiving general public welfare or old age or unemployment compensation, but many others who would be eligible for relief in some parts of the country live in areas

where assistance is inadequate or unavailable.

The group of low-income families is also heavily weighted with workers in rural and farm areas who may have all-year-round employment and with industrial workers, especially those with large families. Negro families constitute a considerable fraction of the submarginal economic group. This study has also disclosed the lack of educational opportunities which doom the children of many of these families to continuation of the same subnormal standard of living for the next generation. There is a vicious cycle which continues the problems of poverty due to the limitations under which the children of such families exist in so far as the educational and other advantages are concerned.

The lacks which these families—many of whom live in our rural and urban slum areas—show in poor diets and nutrition, in housing, in untreated illnesses and lack of medical care and related disabilities, constitute the largest area of need involved in the essential programs of social welfare which we must develop in this country.

WHAT WOULD IT COST?

The solution of these conditions of poverty are no longer utopian goals to dream about. In a nation such as ours, which represents the most productive and the most successful development of an economic system that the world has ever known, these objectives are attainable. Recently the Twentieth Century Fund published what I consider to be one of the most important documents of our time. It is called *U.S.A.—Measure of a Nation* and presents graphically the basic needs and resources of our country. Among other facts the report estimates in actual dollars how much would be required to give every person in the

United States the elementary decencies of living in terms of food, clothing, housing, health services, education, leisure-time activities, and, at the same time, to protect our productive structure and guarantee the continued growth and expansion of our productive capacities and the protection and maintenance of our natural resources.

According to these estimates, not challenged by those who know our economic conditions and trends, the following objectives would require only a little more than 8 per cent additional output of our productive system in the year 1960. To quote the Twentieth Century Fund report:

With this small increase in production, we could feed all our undernourished and underprivileged and provide every American with an ample health diet. We could wipe out every slum dwelling in America, repair or replace every defective house or apartment and provide every family in our land with a decent home. We could assure every American of proper medical, dental and nursing care, make hospitals available to all and provide comprehensive health service for the entire nation. We could, in addition, take every boy and girl in America through two years of high school, half of them two years of college and provide every child with a safe comfortable schoolroom with an adequately paid teacher. We could also have a conservation development program that will protect our soil against erosion, drain millions of acres of marshy land, bring water to millions of acres of parched land, make our forests self-perpetuating, develop our major river valleys and go a long way toward providing adequate parks and recreational areas for all Americans.

It is not debatable that we have more than enough basic resources, manpower and equipment to achieve these goals. What we must do to attain them is to so manage our economic and social affairs that we continue the line of development which has brought us to our present enviable place as a nation.

HAVE WE THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES?

No one has been able successfully to challenge the validity of these estimates

and predictions. This survey assumes, of course, that we can reach such a goal if we remain at peace, if we encounter no major depression, and if we continue to operate our productive system with increasingly high levels of employment. The question is no longer: Can we achieve such welfare goals for our nation? but, rather: How can we achieve them? The achievement of these minimum goals is attainable for 1960 on the basis of a relatively small increase in our national production.

The evidence collected by the Twentieth Century Fund of how near we are, so far as economic factors are concerned, toward our major welfare goals is only one of many appraisals of our extraordinary economic capacity. Less than two weeks ago President Truman in his message to Congress on the nation's economy put it this way: "Within five years we can achieve an annual output in excess of 300 billion dollars. The gain in national income would be equal to an average of nearly \$1,000 for every family in the United States. This would greatly improve standards of living. It would go far toward our goal of the complete elimination of poverty. It would provide employment opportunities for about sixty-four million workers. Such prospects are not fanciful. They are based upon our long-term record of achievement, including some years when we did not use fully our resources of plant, managerial skills, and labor force."

Perhaps these approaches to social needs are what we might understand as the character of the "welfare state" which most of us would be willing to support. It does not assume that no one, in whatever economic class he belongs, will have any less than he has today but that by effective planning we can assure the welfare of that part of the population which now falls below the desired stand-

ard in health, welfare, and housing. It is not, as in past years, a matter of sharing the wealth—of taking from Peter to pay Paul—but rather of so organizing our economic life and our social welfare measures that the benefits of our productive society can be extended to all elements of the population.

ALTERNATIVES FOR SPENDING

It would, however, be misleading if we were to assume that all that is required to reach our very desirable and attainable objective is merely an increase in production of which we are so easily capable. Economic improvement may, in fact, fail to solve any large fraction of our welfare problems. The basic question is to what use we shall put such additional income and how to distribute it. We could increase our production by 8 or 10 or 20 per cent and still not provide minimum standards of living for the entire population. We might, in fact, use that increase in production for very different goals, such as a greatly enlarged military establishment; increased American aid to foreign countries; increased consumption of cosmetics, alcohol, or tobacco; more expensive pleasure yachts or a fivefold increase in the number of vacations taken in Europe; three automobiles rather than two in every other garage; or twice the number of equestrian statues in every public park. Some parts of the American people might prefer those as more desirable alternatives for the use of our increased wealth.

DO WE HAVE TO WAIT FOR ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT?

Many of the social welfare objectives that we have in mind could be achieved without waiting for further economic improvement. We might have reached them a decade ago had we been willing to spend our national income differently

from the way it was being distributed by the operations of our economic system itself. That would have meant, however, that for these social welfare objectives some types of individual and group spending would have to be limited or restricted. For some groups it would have meant higher taxes and increased contributions to voluntary philanthropy. Since whether we do or do not reach our welfare objectives depends on how we spend our national income as much as it does on what that income is, it is obvious that we must have the governmental and voluntary programs and the essential labor and welfare provisions to assure the distribution of national income for socially desirable ends. It is apparent that our ability to achieve social welfare organization lags behind our ability to develop our economic system effectively.

ARE WE WILLING?

Now that we have settled the two prior questions of what we need and whether we have the capacity to provide for these needs, suppose we turn to our willingness to pay for such a program and to organize ourselves in such a way that the program can be put into effect.

The question is essentially a political question, political in its broadest terms, involving not only government but the social and political philosophy which colors our national life. During the 1930's and even in the prosperous 1920's the low-income group was relatively larger and economic conditions were less favorable than they are today. It is significant that most of the state and federal social-assistance and social-insurance measures that we have today did not come into being in our years of prosperity but were enacted during the 1930 depression years. In a depressed period, when our production and our national in-

come was at a low ebb, the intensification of needs forced these problems strongly upon the attention of the community and of our legislators. We made more progress in achieving our social welfare goals than we had made before or have made since. In fact, we have been retrogressing since the end of the 1930's in the adequacy and in the coverage of some of our social welfare provisions.

The amounts which are being spent on public welfare are considerable; but, even with this growth and expansion, public welfare costs represent only a very small fraction of the total budgets of our federal, state, and local governments. It needs to be pointed out that many of our measures for social security do not involve securing new funds from general taxation or diverting funds from taxation or voluntary contributions intended for other purposes. Some gains were registered through the adoption of social-insurance methods, which means that the individuals are actually paying the cost of what they receive and in the meantime are sharing the risks. The Old Age Survivors Insurance, which is currently disbursing close to seven hundred million dollars a year, has assets of over twelve billion dollars, built up through the deductions from pay rolls of the covered group and by employers' taxes on pay rolls. These assets help the federal government considerably in its current fiscal problems. Unemployment compensation is similarly part of the wage bill paid for by the workers or considered a part of the wage cost. In the field of voluntary effort the Blue Cross hospital plan is another illustration of how needs are met through individual insurance payments rather than through the regular forms of taxation or voluntary contributions.

A more comprehensive program of

social insurance—with adequate benefits and full coverage for the aged, the unemployed, the disabled worker, the broken family; for illness compensation; and for health services—would go a long way toward removing the burden of poverty from low-income families. The need for minimum wage levels, decent housing, adequacy of health institutions, recreational and cultural services, and minimum standards of education require other types of provisions or enlargement of programs now in effect. Many of the essential programs have been formulated, and some of them will be before Congress, our state legislatures, and our municipalities this year.

We could, in effect, afford to pay for the basic social welfare programs we need if we had the ingenuity and the desire to organize those measures that will deal directly with these problems. The funds that would be required on other than insurance or a self-liquidating basis are not large in comparison with the total national income or even with the total funds necessary for the costs of government for other purposes, including defense or military preparation. The cost of social security at home is but a small fraction of what we are now willing to spend on the program which we are told will assure our military security.

The amount that would be required for voluntary philanthropy to share actively in a creative social welfare program is really negligible in terms of our national income. The best information available shows that out of every thousand dollars of our national income we spend only about two dollars for all types of voluntary social welfare programs. Community chests throughout the United States get about fifty cents out of each thousand dollars of our national income. Actually we are spending

less for voluntary social welfare today than we were spending during the 1920's. The available figures in terms of purchasing power show \$602,000,000 spent on private welfare in 1929 as against \$432,000,000 in 1940.

WHY ARE WE UNWILLING?

What are the reasons for this lack of vigor in the development of voluntary social work? It can be explained in part by the fact that since 1929 there has been a transfer of some part of responsibility for meeting basic economic needs to governmental agencies and programs. Of even greater importance are those other factors that are retarding both voluntary effort and development and expansion of social welfare programs under governmental auspices.

This general state of unwillingness is based on various misconceptions, which are traditional in the sense that they have enjoyed a long history. They are deeply ingrained in our culture and are exceedingly difficult to root out. The oldest of all misconceptions is the belief that the conditions of poverty or maladjustment which social welfare seeks to correct are due to matters of personal fault. These misconceptions range all the way from illiterate opinions that persons in need are undeserving and shiftless to attitudes, masquerading as science, that to assist low-income families is contrary to eugenics. These views are staunchly held despite our experience during the depression years, when it should have become obvious that unemployment and inadequate earning capacity are not matters of personal fault but of economic disorganization. It leaves out of account the testimony during the war years, when several million workers, including persons otherwise labeled as handicapped or overaged or unemployable, were pro-

ductively employed once we provided the job opportunities for them. And even the additional fact that only a fraction of those entitled to old age insurance avail themselves of their benefits, with many preferring to continue in employment, has not yet eradicated these and other false conceptions.

Willingness to make progress toward social welfare programs is tinged with political attitudes and theories which are difficult to change. The fear is frequently expressed that development of social welfare, especially under governmental auspices, would interfere with the effective functioning of our free enterprise system. This view persists despite our wartime experience that the full use of our manpower made our emergency needs for production possible and did in effect spell the difference between victory and defeat in the great war. Under the pressure of the war emergency we were forced to discard many unsound notions about wage rates, the need for maintaining a reserve of unemployed workers, the handicaps offered by labor organization to full production, and other fallacies. We seem to have forgotten some of these lessons from our past experience.

Coming closer to our local problems, we find other misconceptions which increase the difficulties of our community chest and other campaigns. There is an attitude on the part of some sections of the giving public that our voluntary programs have little basic importance, that we are in general not dealing with vital needs, that a considerable part closely resembles boondoggling, and that it will make very little difference to our communities whether more or less money is available for most of the agencies which appeal for funds.

We in social welfare bear a part of

the responsibility for this prevalent attitude. It is not merely that we have not interpreted our work effectively. More important is the fact that the over-all organization of our efforts does not always lend itself to ready acceptance and confidence by the community. Though we have well-developed councils of social agencies in many cities with constructive planning, one hears frequent criticisms, which are certainly valid in some if not in all communities. For example, to quote from a report of a council of social agencies in an eastern city for the year 1948:

The biggest problem still facing social work is the development of community blueprints to guide our growth, change and development—blueprints not autocratically but democratically developed. There is still too much spot planning. There is still too much narrow sectionalism, too much "agencyism." The lay and professional leaders of this community need to come to some common understanding as to what we need, how much of it we need, who should provide it, and priorities in providing it. These questions cannot be answered by any one agency or any selected group of agencies, no matter how large or how powerful. They can only be answered by all of the agencies, working in close harmony with each other.

It is only through the considered attention which agencies are preparing to give through some central instrument for community planning that we can hope to make progress in overcoming the current apathy and indifference of some sections of our public toward our social welfare goals.

Frequently our community social planning is much less effective than it could be, because many voluntary social agencies tend to concentrate on some specialized aspect of social work. No matter how valid may be their limited functions and objectives, the total of all agency interests does not add up to a comprehensive or profound program

dealing with social needs of major importance. Controversial programs are rejected, and difficult problems are overlooked. Instead of these being parts of the basic interests of social work, they become the concern of other individuals and groups without benefit of the practical and realistic experience which social agencies could contribute to comprehensive planning for over-all social needs.

When we do turn our attention to some of the larger problems, there is the risk that our views are too much influenced by the economic and social factors of a previous generation. We have not unlearned much that is no longer tenable which may have been valid during the period when we were dealing with economic and social problems in an entirely different setting. Unless we ourselves are sure that no large part of our program is really obsolete or that we are not still trying to present our social welfare programs under old and outworn slogans, can we hope to recapture the interest and attention of our public?

In my opinion, it would be a mistaken idea for those of us who are concerned with the voluntary agencies in social welfare to fail to integrate the objectives of our voluntary agencies with the programs of federal, state, and local welfare which are of concern to the American public. In spite of our increasing prosperity, the major problem in social work is still the problem of the low-income family. There is an obligation on the part of those of us who are engaged in voluntary effort to assume responsibility as informed citizens for furthering the major social objectives which are to be secured through vital governmental measures. This is of equal importance with our other basic tasks of furthering those still undeveloped and incomplete programs of social welfare that need the

experimentation and testing which we can effectively bring to the fields of family service, of child guidance, and of methods for community organization and for the advancement of the cultural and leisure-time interests of our population.

Too frequently we lag rather than lead in the development of stimulating creative ideas for social welfare. We have not joined forces effectively with the economists, the educators, the health planners, the city planners, the housing experts, and other creative minds in our society who are concerning themselves with the basic needs of our society. Although one of the alleged fields of social work is the field of community organization, we have not worked effectively with the actual social forces in the community, such as industrial management, labor organizations, and civic improvement groups. When we have established such relationships, we are inclined to be more sympathetic to those with conservative views and programs and have not found an accord with the more farsighted and imaginative leaders of these groups. One result is that labor and management are beginning to seek welfare objectives on their own, such as in the recent \$100-a-month pension in industry, thus setting up programs of lesser effectiveness than those that we have unsuccessfully tried to or failed to promote.

THE OUTLOOK FOR IMPROVEMENT

But while we are casting the accounts of this current stage of social welfare development, we need also to be aware of the fact that some part of the deficiencies may reflect merely a temporary climate of public opinion. After the end of the war we expected drastic problems of readjustment, some of which did not materialize. We feared large-scale unem-

ployment, depressions, and general social unrest—and these fears to some extent paralyzed action toward new goals.

In the year 1950 we may hopefully expect a more favorable climate of public opinion, a public more ready to welcome new social measures for advancing the welfare of the country, greater confidence in the stability of its economic institutions, and greater confidence in our ability to direct these institutions toward social ends. We are the envied dwellers in the greatest democratic country in the

world, a country with a huge economic potential, a country able to afford the highest standard in material welfare and in spiritual well-being. Most of the signs are promising; only a few are negative. Fortunately, we can afford all the social welfare goals that we want. As leaders of social agencies, we have the responsibility of translating these needs into terms of concrete and effective programs.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND
WELFARE FUNDS, INC.
NEW YORK CITY

PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD UNDERLIE OUR NATIONALITY LAWS¹

FRANK L. AUERBACH

THE National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship is about to enter its third decade. As a newcomer to its ranks, I can say without being suspected of self-praise that in all its twenty years it has done an admirable job, meeting specific problems as they arose.

Nevertheless, the legislative proposals made over the years by the Council on specific issues express a certain philosophy and point of view.

The purpose of this paper is to try to formulate the principles which have underlain the work of the National Council so that they may better serve as a guide and yardstick for future legislative action. The formulation of such principles is, it appears to me, of particular importance at this time when the Senate Subcommittee, which for more than two years has studied our immigration and nationality system, is about to submit its report and introduce an omnibus bill proposing many changes in the Nationality Act of 1940.^{2a}

When the National Council and its

¹ Paper read at the Twentieth Annual Conference, National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, March 24, 1950, Hotel Astor, New York City.

^{2a} Since the presentation of this paper in March, 1950, the omnibus immigration and nationality bill, S. 3455, and a report of the Senate Judiciary Committee on *The Immigration and Naturalization Systems of the United States* (Senate Report No. 1515, 81st Congress, second session), were introduced in the Senate on April 20. Far-reaching changes are proposed by this bill, particularly in the immigration field.

member organizations are given an opportunity to take a stand on the Senate's proposals and to submit their own, having a statement of fundamental principles will obviously be of some significance.

The formulation of such a statement is not an easy task. It calls for the cooperative thinking of all of us. This conference of outstanding experts, representing government and voluntary agencies, the legal profession, and the fields of sociology and social work, affords a unique opportunity to do this.

To lay the groundwork for a discussion, I have tried to formulate a number of basic principles which have, as I have already said, underlain the legislative thinking of the National Council or are the outgrowth of work by other experts in the field of nationality law.

Before presenting these principles and discussing them one by one, let me stress the fact that they represent goals to be achieved. I am fully aware that, owing to lack of international agreement or for other reasons, some of these goals cannot immediately be realized.

These are the six principles suggested for your consideration:

1. Every person should have a nationality.
2. Dual citizenship and the conflicts resulting therefrom should so far as possible be eliminated.
3. Acquisition of the same nationality by members of the same family should be facilitated.

4. Aliens should not be disqualified from naturalization because of race.

5. Administrative procedures leading to the naturalization of aliens should be uniform, expeditious, and fair to the applicant without interfering with the government's obligation to withhold citizenship from individuals not qualified under the law.

6. The induction to citizenship should be dignified and should signify the importance of the act.

The first principle is that every person should have a nationality. (Let me say here that I am using the term "nationality" as a synonym for citizenship and as an antonym for "statelessness.") That every person should have a nationality calls, I believe, for little justification. The legal, economic, and social limitations of a person without a nationality are all too well known to us. The Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, lists, in Article XV, as one of the basic human rights that "everyone has the right to a nationality." The secretary-general of the United Nations last year presented to the Economic and Social Council a comprehensive study on the position of stateless persons in various countries compared with that of an alien who possesses a nationality and enjoys the protection of his country of nationality.²

In going over this study, one realizes that a stateless person living in the United States fares much better than stateless persons living in other countries. There are only a few instances under our law in which the status of a stateless person is inferior to that of any other alien. This does not lessen our obligation to be concerned about the undesirability of

statelessness. We must remember that, under our present law, we continuously contribute to the number of stateless persons throughout the world when we take away American citizenship in certain instances, even if the person affected has no other nationality. I shall discuss this shortly.

In proposing that the sources of statelessness be eliminated the secretary-general of the United Nations, in the study just referred to, suggests that the following two principles be universally recognized and adopted: (1) Every child must receive a nationality at birth. (2) No person should lose his nationality unless he has acquired a new one.

If we measure our nationality law with the yardstick of these two principles, we see that we live up almost completely to the first principle suggested by the secretary-general, that every child must receive a nationality at birth. In following the *jus soli*, we give American citizenship to all children born on our soil; and we provide that children born abroad to American citizen parents acquire American nationality at birth.³

However, we fall considerably short of meeting the second principle suggested by the secretary-general, that no person should lose his nationality unless he has acquired a new one. Our nationality act provides for the loss of nationality not only in cases in which a citizen voluntarily acquires the nationality of another country but also in cases in which a citizen commits certain acts enumerated in the law, regardless of whether they involve the holding or the acquisition of citizenship in another country. For example, a citizen who votes in a political election in a foreign state loses his American nationality by this act, regardless of whether he possesses the nationality of

² United Nations Document E/1112 of February 1, 1949, and E/1112/Add. 1 of May 16, 1949.

³ Section 201 of the Nationality Act of 1940.

the country in which he voted. Or, in the case of a naturalized citizen, three years' residence in the country of his birth or former nationality and five years' residence in any other foreign country leads to loss of American citizenship, regardless of whether he still has, or has reacquired, the nationality of his country of residence.⁴

If we want to do our share in decreasing the incidence of statelessness, we must re-examine the soundness of depriving American citizens of their nationality when they do not possess or acquire another citizenship.

It may be well to stress, at this time, that adopting the principle that no person should lose his nationality unless he has acquired a new one does not imply that each national should derive the same benefits from his nationality. In other words, as our government does now, it could still deny protection, for example, to an American residing abroad if it were determined that he was not carrying out the duties of American citizenship. We would, in appropriate cases, disapprove the application for a passport to an American residing abroad unless the passport is requested for a return to this country. Also, we could, as we do now, refuse the issuance of a passport to an American residing in this country if it appears that we could not, or should not, offer him protection while traveling abroad or because the issuance of a passport would be against the interests of the United States.

While we can control, through our laws, the incidence of statelessness as far as American citizens are concerned, the question of dual nationality, that is, the situation in which a person has two nationalities, is one which arises from the conflict of various systems of law affect-

ing one and the same person. The most frequent cause of dual nationality is birth of a child in a country following the principle of *jus soli*, such as the United States, to alien parents who are citizens of a country following the principle of *jus sanguinis*. For example, a child born in the United States to Greek parents is an American citizen under our law and a Greek citizen under Greek law.

Two years ago, Richard Flournoy, one of the most eminent authorities on nationality law, spoke to us at some length about the undesirability of dual nationality.⁵ Dual nationality is always an undesirable condition from the point of view of the countries involved and almost always from that of the dual national himself. Its existence has resulted in friction between governments growing out of disputes as to the duties and obligations of individual dual citizens under the law of one country as against that of another. Dual citizens have often been exposed to unexpected penal and other confining action by one country which claimed them as nationals while they, for all practical purposes, considered themselves citizens of another country. The Passport Division of the Department of State takes great pains to explain to American citizens traveling abroad that, in case of dual citizenship, the protection that can be extended by the American government is limited if they travel in the country which claims them as nationals.

While dual citizenship can never be completely eliminated as long as *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* are adhered to by various countries of the world, there are certain steps that can be taken to regulate, through international agreement, the

⁵ *Proposed Changes in the Nationality Law* (New York: National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, 1948).

⁴ Section 404 of the Nationality Act of 1940.

status of a dual national where a conflict of law arises. And other steps can be taken to decrease the incidence of dual citizenship. A considerable number of countries adopted an international "Convention on Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws," signed at The Hague on April 12, 1930.⁶

A few of the provisions of this convention dealing with dual citizenship will be of particular interest to us. Article III provides that a person having two or more nationalities may be regarded as its national by each of the states whose nationality he possesses, and Article IV provides that a state may not afford diplomatic protection to one of its nationals against a state whose nationality such person also possesses. Article VI of the convention is of most interest to us in that it establishes the right of a dual national to renounce one nationality. It provides that a person possessing two nationalities, acquired without any voluntary act on his part, may renounce one of them with the authorization of the state whose nationality he desires to surrender. This authorization may not be refused by that state in the case of a person who has his habitual and principal residence abroad if the conditions laid down in the law of the state whose nationality he desires to surrender are satisfied. The United States has never become a signatory to the agreement.

Richard Flournoy, for many years, has urged that an American citizen who is a dual national should lose his American citizenship if, through prolonged residence in the other country of which he is a national, he elects the nationality of that country after reaching the age of twenty-one.

⁶ Acts of the Conference for the Codification of International Law, held at The Hague, March 13-April 12, 1930, C.224.M.III.1930.V. (League of Nations Publications, V. Legal Questions 1930.V.3).

The fact that elimination of dual citizenship is far from being realized and presents many problems should not discourage us from examining whether the adoption of an international convention, like that of April 12, 1930, or of the suggestion made by Flournoy would go far in eliminating dual citizenship or the conflicts resulting therefrom.

At this point I should like to discuss another problem which, I believe, is, in a sense, related to that of dual nationality and statelessness. I am referring to the problem resulting from the fact that our nationality law deprives naturalized citizens of their nationality for reasons not applicable to native-born citizens.

It has been argued that the provision of the nationality act depriving naturalized citizens of their nationality due to continued residence abroad is unconstitutional in that it discriminates between native and naturalized Americans. In a two-to-one decision last year the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia dismissed this argument, holding this provision of the law not arbitrary.⁷ Its history, the court said, reveals a recognition by Congress of the need to lessen friction growing out of disputes with foreign governments as to the nationality of our naturalized citizens and their offspring residing for prolonged periods in foreign lands.

I do not underestimate this argument, but basically these frictions arise not from the prolonged residence abroad as such but only if the individual in question is a citizen both of this country and the country of his residence. The problem, therefore, does not arise only in the case of a naturalized citizen residing abroad but also in the case of an Ameri-

⁷ United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in the case of *Lapides v. Tom C. Clark and Watson B. Miller*, decided May 23, 1949.

can born on American soil who at birth acquired also a foreign citizenship because his parents were aliens and the citizens of a country following the *jus sanguinis*.

I should like to suggest that we examine whether our laws should not be amended so that loss of American citizenship would result from residence abroad only if the individual involved possesses the nationality of the country of his residence or of another country and whether we should not make such provision, with proper safeguards, applicable to all American citizens regardless of whether they are native-born or naturalized. Only then would we really meet the objectives of Congress to lessen friction growing out of disputes with foreign governments as to the nationality of our citizens residing abroad. And, as stated earlier, we would then do our share in decreasing the number of stateless persons and of dual nationals throughout the world.

The next four principles suggested do not require much elaboration as they have been given considerable thought by the Council and have been part and parcel of its work for many years.

The third principle suggested is that acquisition of the same nationality by members of the same family should be facilitated. Difficulties arising from multiple citizenship within the same family were put before you in 1948 by the Committee on Nationality Problems of Children.⁸ Your committee found that lack of uniformity of citizenship within the same family—and in speaking of family I refer to parents and their minor children—frequently leads to separation and disunity. On the basis of the findings of

your committee, a number of legislative recommendations were adopted by the membership of the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship and have thereby become part of its general legislative program. I, therefore, do not have to go into this problem any further.

The principle that an alien should not be disqualified from naturalization because of race was adopted by the National Council in 1943 and was made the object of a resolution passed at its nineteenth annual meeting in 1949. This principle is embodied in the Judd Bill, H.R. 199, passed by the House of Representatives on March 1, 1949.⁹ This measure is still in the hands of the Senate Subcommittee. We have reason to believe that it has a good chance of being acted upon favorably as part of the omnibus bill about to be introduced in the Senate. Final action, however, can hardly be expected during the second session of the Eighty-first Congress.

The next two principles deal with the administrative and court procedure leading to naturalization. It is suggested that administrative procedures leading to the naturalization of aliens should be uniform, expeditious, and fair to the applicant without interfering with the government's obligation to withhold citizenship from those not qualified under the law.

Commenting on this principle gives me a welcome opportunity to express warm appreciation of the efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to attain uniformity in naturalization proceedings and to achieve an expeditious and fair treatment of the applicant. Expeditious handling of naturalization

⁹ See also Rept. No. 65 of Feb. 10, 1949, House of Representatives (81st Cong., 1st sess.), "Providing the Privilege of Becoming a Naturalized Citizen of the United States to All Immigrants Having a Legal Right to Permanent Residence, To Make Immigration Quotas Available to Asian and Pacific Peoples."

⁸ Frank L. Auerbach, *Nationality Problems of Children* (New York: National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, 1948).

applications should not, of course, be at the expense of the security of the country, and the government should certainly have every necessary opportunity to screen the applicant for naturalization before his case goes to court.

The principle that the induction to citizenship should be dignified and should signify the importance of the act reaffirms a long-standing goal of the National Council, one on which it has had the closest and most understanding cooperation of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The changes that have taken place in recent years in the induction procedures in the various courts throughout the country were vividly described to many of us last year by Judge Philip Foreman, of the United States District Court, Trenton, New Jersey, when he addressed the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship in New York. The National Council has a standing subcommittee studying the induction procedure. Data already collected by this committee will eventually lead to specific suggestions on how to make the naturalization proceedings throughout the country more meaningful, not only to the applicant for citizenship, but to the entire community. As Judge Foreman said, the induction proceedings "must be made into a vigorous stimulant to the appreciation by Americans, foreign-born and native alike, of their privileges and responsibilities as citizens, for in this lies the key to a greater America and a peaceful world."¹⁰

These six principles, and perhaps others, might well be adopted, I believe, as a sort of legislative platform by the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship to guide it in the forthcoming revision of our nationality laws.

Before concluding my remarks, how-

¹⁰ *Monthly Review* of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, Vol. VII, No. 1 (July, 1949).

ever, I should like to discuss briefly one other problem which should be carefully examined by us and possibly later on be included in our legislative program. This problem concerns stateless persons admitted to the United States for permanent residence who often find it difficult to travel abroad during their alienage for lack of proper travel documents.

It is true that an alien who comes to our country as an immigrant can generally be expected to remain here. But we know that situations arise in which travel abroad becomes necessary. Under our present law, an alien who wishes to travel abroad can secure from the immigration authorities a so-called "permit to re-enter." The effect of this permit, however, is only to show that its holder is returning from a temporary visit abroad and, therefore, under Section 10 of the Immigration Act of 1924, is exempt from the visa requirement. Otherwise, the returning resident alien has to meet all the requirements of the immigration law as if he were entering this country for the first time. If, for example, such alien, while in the United States, contracted a health condition which makes him excludable under our immigration law, he would have to be excluded upon his return from his temporary absence abroad. An increasing number of countries are, therefore, refusing to issue to an alien admitted to the United States for permanent residence, who is stateless, a visa to visit their country, as they are afraid that such person may eventually not be able to re-enter the United States, the place of his permanent residence, and may, therefore, be compelled to return to the country which had admitted him only for a temporary visit.

Obviously, this problem arises only in the case of a stateless person, as a permanent resident alien of the United States

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who has the nationality of another country and travels on that country's passport can always be returned there should he, upon his return, be found inadmissible to the United States. The problem presented has been well recognized by various international bodies, which, in the past, have dealt with the protection of stateless persons. The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, in a study published in 1946, stressed that a travel document issued a stateless person which contains no authorization to return loses a great deal of its value and does little to facilitate travel for the holder.¹¹ The travel document approved by the Intergovernmental Conference at London in October, 1946, provides, therefore, that its holder is authorized to return to the country whose authorities issue the document within a stated period of time which must not be less than three months.¹² More than ten countries, among them Belgium, Brazil, Italy, the Netherlands, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Venezuela, are now issuing such a travel document to stateless persons. The United States, although a member of the Intergovernmental Committee and of its successor, the International Refugee Organization, has never become a signatory to this agreement.

On February 17 of this year, an *ad hoc* committee on statelessness of the United Nations recommended to the member countries of the United Nations that they issue to stateless persons lawfully residing in their territory a travel

document which entitles the holder to leave the country and to return to it without a visa within a stated period of time.¹³ Such a travel document, like that issued by the Intergovernmental Conference on the Adoption of a Travel Document for Refugees of 1946, would not, of course, entitle its holder to diplomatic protection by the issuing country while traveling abroad.

The time has come, I believe, for us to examine whether the United States should not issue a travel document along the lines proposed by the United Nations committee in cases where a stateless person admitted to this country for permanent residence can prove the necessity for travel abroad before he becomes a citizen. This problem which, so far as I can judge, in the past has confronted us only in a relatively small number of cases can be expected to come to our attention in many more cases in view of the relatively large number of displaced persons who have entered the United States within the last two years, as most of them are stateless.

I should like to conclude with an observation which is by no means novel but which can never be stressed enough: Sound legislation in the nationality field, perhaps more than in any other field of law, can be achieved only if we recognize the interdependence of the nationality laws of different countries. This is clearly demonstrated by the problems created by statelessness and dual nationality. By recognizing and stressing this fact in its work, the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, I believe, can make a significant contribution to the field.

COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY
NEW YORK

¹¹ "Preparatory Documents concerning the Adoption of an Identity and Travel Document for Refugees Coming within the Mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee" (London, 1946), p. 107.

¹² Article XV of the agreement relating to the establishment of an identity and travel document for refugees who are the concern of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, signed in London, October 15, 1946, reproduced in United Nations Document E/1112 of February 1, 1949, p. 154.

¹³ Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Statelessness and Related Problems, United Nations Document E/1618, E/AC. 32/5 of February 17, 1950, pp. 22 and 30.

STATE-WIDE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION COMES OF AGE¹

ARTHUR DUNHAM

THE STATE-WIDE SETTING FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

THE state provides a radically different setting from the local community for purposes of community organization. The basic differences stem from the factors of geographic area and distance. The area of the state is of course immensely greater than that of the local community. The state contains a variety of communities and types of territory: large cities, small cities, towns, villages, and open country. Location, topography, and climate vary. The total population of the state, unlike the total population of a local community, does not dwell in contiguous territory.

The element of distance is a physical, sociological, and psychological factor of basic importance. Distance frequently means lack of information, lack of understanding, prejudice, and even active hostility. Distance breeds sectionalism, as isolation breeds provincialism. There may be the perennial struggle between east and west or north and south—or between the large city and rural upstate or downstate, as the case may be. A mountain range may divide the state and intensify the rivalry between the first city and second city. Or rivalries may exist between two or more large cities of almost the same size.

State-wide organization is much more difficult than local organization. It is

hard to hold meetings, and who can do community organization without meetings? It is difficult, time-consuming, and expensive for people representing all sections of the state to get together for a committee meeting or otherwise. A state organization must depend far more upon the written word and far less upon firsthand contacts than a local organization. Of the firsthand contacts which are made, many can be made only through staff travel, which is expensive and time-consuming. Moreover, the state-wide organization's constituency is usually larger, more widely distributed, and more diverse in experience and points of view.

Nevertheless, the importance of state-wide community organization can scarcely be overstated. Governmentally, the state is the basic unit of the nation, as our very name, the "United States," attests. The federal government is a government of delegated powers; the powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved by the Constitution to the states or to the people. The state possesses a large degree of autonomy; even in time of war or economic depression, when federal centralization is increased, most social legislation is state legislation. The state stands midway between the nation and the community. Legally, the county and municipality are the creatures of the state.

Moreover, the basic pattern today in the field of social welfare is the pattern of public welfare. In the field of the public social services it is the state which plays the leading part in programs of categori-

¹ A paper presented at a meeting of Community Chests and Councils of America at the National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, N.J., April 25, 1950.

cal public assistance, treatment of the physically handicapped, mental health, corrections, and frequently in child welfare and general assistance. Most public welfare programs which are in operation today involve one or more of the elements of state legislation, administration, leadership, supervision, or support.

It is true also that it is virtually impossible to reach most rural areas with social services except by means of state-wide programs. Left entirely to their own resources, too many rural counties would have neither the vision, the leadership, the cohesiveness, nor the financial resources to develop social welfare programs adequate to their needs. With state-wide programs and leadership and with the possibilities of state aid and equalization plans to give proportionately greater allotments to poor or distressed counties, there is far more chance of developing something like adequate services to the rural counties.

One characteristic of state-wide community organization, which has already been suggested by implication, is the importance of the promotion of legislation. All public welfare programs rest upon a statutory basis, and many other social relationships which are of concern to both governmental and voluntary agencies are affected by legislative provisions; for example, marriage, adoption, domestic relations, education, public health provisions, inheritance, and many criminal proceedings.

All in all, then, it is clear that on the state level, if anywhere, many of the major battles for social well-being must be fought and won.

THE BACKGROUND OF STATE-WIDE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

In spite of its importance, state-wide community organization for social wel-

fare as we think of it today is a fairly recent growth. In the field of governmental services we may trace it back to what Sophonisba P. Breckinridge used to call the first "state central authority," the Massachusetts State Board of Charities, in 1863; and we may follow it through the Ohio Children's Code Commission, the first of the children's commissions, in 1911; the Illinois Department of Public Welfare, the first modern state welfare department, in 1917; the New York Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, the first of the ERA's, in 1931; and the widespread reorganization of state systems of public welfare, in the years following the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935.

On the side of voluntary organization, we may go back to three developments in the 1870's and 1880's: the founding of the New York State Charities Aid Association in 1872, the establishment of the National Conference of Social Work by representatives of the state boards of charities in 1873, and the organization of the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work in 1881.

Between 1880 and 1940 we should find several important developments. State conferences spread to almost all states; an increasing number of these conferences moved in the direction of becoming year-round "action" bodies, with full-time executives; and an association of state conference secretaries was organized as early as 1924. State-wide citizens' associations grew up in a few additional states; councils of state-wide agencies were organized in a number of states in the 1920's but did not survive; and a large and uncounted number of state-wide promotional and community organization agencies came into existence in such fields as tuberculosis control, social

hygiene, crippled children and adults, mental hygiene, etc.

As far back as the 1920's (possibly even earlier) there were some signs of recognition that the same process which was called "community organization" on the local level might be practiced on the state and national levels also. The Lane Committee report on "The Field of Community Organization," at the National Conference of 1939, made this recognition explicit,² and Russell H. Kurtz amplified and illustrated this idea in 1940 in his National Conference paper on "The Range of Community Organization."³ Since about 1939, part of the working equipment of the modern community organization worker has been the knowledge that the community organization process—in spite of the local sound of its name—may be practiced on any geographical level or between any geographical levels. This idea is a natural corollary to the conception of community organization as an attempt to bring about and maintain an adjustment between social welfare needs and social welfare resources. Incidentally, the term "state-wide community organization" in this discussion will be interpreted broadly enough to include not only "over-all health and welfare planning" but also the programs in specific fields, such as crippled children or mental hygiene, where there is a large promotional component in the job.

THE FOREGROUND

In a sense, "what's past is prologue" to the current drama of state-wide community organization. Since 1940 there have

been several new and exciting developments. The state war chests swept the country during World War II and demonstrated the possibilities of joint financing on a state-wide basis. The number of state conferences with full-time executives doubled—from nine to eighteen—in about ten years. State-wide commissions on children and youth were organized in most of the states. State health councils and associations increased from about six to nineteen. Major changes have been taking place in the state-wide citizens' welfare associations. The Ohio Welfare Council has reorganized. The Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania has established a substantial quarterly periodical, *Currents*, and has changed its name to the Pennsylvania Citizens Association for Health and Welfare—though mercifully preserving the initials "PCA," without which Pennsylvania social work could scarcely survive! In New York Dr. Harry S. Mustard, an eminent leader in the field of public health, has succeeded to the honored place of Homer Folks, who for fifty-three years gave statesman-like leadership to the State Charities Aid Association. For about three years New Hampshire carried on a dynamic program, under excellent leadership, and gallantly put to the test the question whether a small state could maintain such an association; the program has now been discontinued for lack of adequate finances, but the question may not yet be finally answered.

Moreover, there has been experimentation with a variety of new agencies—particularly in the area of chest and council operations—and also a growth in a number of certain older forms. Within the last two or three years also there has been the development of an informal group of executives of certain state-wide community organization agencies for

² Robert P. Lane, "The Field of Community Organization" (Committee Report), *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1939*, p. 497.

³ *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1940*, pp. 405-8, 411-12.

sharing experience and ideas and for joint thinking and planning.

Along with this has come the beginnings of research and laying the foundations of a literature on state-wide community organization. Here Community Chests and Councils of America and particularly Lyman S. Ford have played an important part. CCCA's mimeographed memorandum of April, 1946, on "Community Organization for Health and Welfare on a State-wide Basis" was a pioneer contribution of great value. The last four years have seen several National Conference papers on state-wide community organization as well as the first article on the subject in the *Social Work Year Book*. Finally, in 1949, Community Chests and Councils published their invaluable *Directory* of state organizations engaged in planning and co-ordinating activities in the field of social welfare.

STATE-WIDE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AGENCIES TODAY

This *Directory* is the most important compendium of facts about state-wide community organization agencies that has yet been produced. It gives us, by all odds, the best available picture of these agencies as they are today. It is an invaluable tool for anyone interested in state-wide health and welfare planning.

The *Directory* lists 194 state-wide planning and co-ordinating agencies "either totally or partially in the broad field of social welfare." The *Directory* imposes some reasonable limits on its coverage: it omits most state public welfare agencies and agencies dealing with such specific problems as tuberculosis, mental hygiene, etc.

An analysis of the 194 agencies listed in the *Directory* yields a classification into thirteen categories (Table 1).

State conferences and commissions and associations for children and youth are found in almost all the states. Health councils and associations are found in nineteen states, and recreation commissions and associations in nine. Three types of agencies—sixteen in all—are concerned with joint financing or com-

TABLE 1*

TYPES OF STATE-WIDE AGENCIES LISTED IN CCCA "DIRECTORY"

Associations of chests and councils.....	9
State chests and review boards.....	6
State citizens' councils.....	5
Commissions and associations for children and youth.....	40
State conferences of social work.....	47
Development commissions.....	19
Health councils and associations.....	19
Planning boards.....	16
Recreation commissions and associations.....	9
State-wide citizens' welfare associations.....	5
Legislative councils.....	6
Community organization service.....	1†
Other.....	12‡
Total.....	194

* Based on *Directory of Statewide Agencies*, published by Community Chests and Councils of America, 1949.

† The Massachusetts Community Organization Service is the only separate agency in this group. Michigan has a community organization service, but it is given by the Michigan Welfare League (state conference).

‡ The miscellaneous group of 12 agencies listed under "Other" includes: the Welfare Council of Delaware; Florida Federation of Social Workers; Florida Institute of Government; Louisiana Inter-departmental Committee; Extension Service, University of Michigan; Mississippi Crime and Delinquency Association; North Carolina Resource-Use Education Commission; North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare (Licensing Program); Ohio Post-war Program Commission; Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, Bureau of Community Work; Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council; and Rhode Island Social Workers Club.

munity welfare councils or both. These are the nine state-wide associations of chests and councils, the six state chests and review boards, and the one independent community organization service. Nineteen states have development commissions, and sixteen have planning boards; these agencies, like the five general state citizens' councils, are not concerned primarily with social welfare. The five state-wide citizens' welfare associations and the strongest of the action type

of state conferences are probably the most representative broad-scale state-wide health and welfare planning agencies. Somewhat related to these, but narrower in scope and often federative in form, are the six legislative councils.

It seems desirable to go a step further and to attempt a more comprehensive scheme of classification which will include the other major types of state-wide community organization agencies which are omitted from the *Directory*. Table 2 suggests nineteen categories and indicates for each (1) whether the type of agency is governmental or voluntary; (2) what is its area of interest; (3) whether its relationship to the field of social welfare is primary or secondary (e.g., a state conference of social work is oriented primarily to social welfare, whereas a state planning board has only a secondary concern with the field of social welfare); and (4) whether the community organization function of the agency is primary or secondary.

Each of these types of agencies (with one possible exception—the council of state-wide agencies) is believed to be currently in operation in one or more states. Additional types which have been known at various times and some which may even be in existence today would include: official study commissions in fields other than child welfare (such as the public welfare reorganization commissions), legislative fact-finding committees concerned with public assistance or other aspects of social welfare, state defense councils, state war chests, etc.

Nobody knows how many agencies there are in all these classifications. There are something like 100 state "over-head" public welfare agencies besides those listed in the *CCCA Directory*. There are state mental hygiene societies alone in twenty-six states.⁴ In 1949 in the

state of Michigan there were some 40 state-wide agencies concerned with the fields of health or welfare. On the basis of a conservative estimate of an average of 5 specialized agencies per state, there would be 240 such agencies; adding these to the 100 public welfare agencies and the 194 agencies listed in the *CCCA Directory*, we have a total of 534 agencies. It is highly probable that there are not less than 500–600 state-wide agencies concerned with community organization to a greater or lesser degree.

THE TASKS OF STATE-WIDE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

While it might be interesting to explore the nature, advantages, and disadvantages of each of these types of agencies, pressure of time compels us to turn to the even more important subject of functions. For the area of state-wide community organization we may lay down the general principle that *getting certain functions performed is more important than the precise agency patterns or forms of organization that are used to do the job*.

What, then, are the major tasks of state-wide community organization? Let us concentrate here on "over-all state-wide health and welfare planning" and leave out of account the promotional organizations in specialized fields. I suggest nine major functions of state-wide community organization. Those who are familiar with the writings and addresses of Lyman S. Ford will recognize a close parallelism between his analyses and my own.

1. The *conference* and open-forum function of the state conferences of social work is of basic importance for the ex-

⁴ See *Public Welfare Directory*, 1949, and Hugh R. Jackson, "Statewide Organization in Social Work," *Social Work Year Book*, 1949, p. 508.

TABLE 2

CLASSIFICATION OF STATE-WIDE AGENCIES WITH PROGRAMS RELATED TO HEALTH
AND WELFARE PLANNING

No.	Type of Agency	Auspices— Govern- mental or Voluntary	Area of Interest	Relation to Social Wel- fare—Pri- mary or Secondary	Community Organization Function— Primary or Secondary
1.....	State public welfare departments and related agencies (departments of mental health, departments of corrections, departments of institutions, etc.)	G	Public welfare in general or special aspects of public welfare	P	S
2.....	State commissions and associations for children and youth*	Usually G	Children or youth	P	P
3.....	State planning boards*	G	Physical and social planning	S	P
4.....	State development commissions and associations*	Usually G	Economic-social development	S	P
5.....	State recreation commissions and associations*	Usually G	Recreation	P	P
6.....	Council of state-wide welfare agencies	V	Social welfare—general	P	P
7.....	State health councils and associations*	Usually V	Health	P	P
8.....	State conferences of social work*	V	Social welfare—general	P	P
9.....	State-wide citizens' welfare associations*	V	Social welfare—general	P	P
10.....	State-wide associations of chests and councils*	V	Chests and councils	P	P
11.....	State chests and review boards*	V	Federated financing	P	P
12.....	State-wide community organization service*	V	Local community organization	P	P
13.....	State citizens' councils*	V	General welfare of state	S	P
14.....	Legislative councils*	V	Social welfare legislation	P	P
15.....	State-wide agencies dealing with specialized problems (tuberculosis, crippled, mental health, infantile paralysis, probation and parole, corrections, association of public welfare or public assistance officials, etc.)	V	Specialized problems or areas of social welfare	P	Usually P
16.....	State-wide vocational associations	V	Usually social welfare, general	P	P
17.....	State-wide associations of family service agencies	V	Family welfare	P	P
18.....	State-wide client-service agencies (child-placing, etc.)	V	Specialized areas (child-placing, etc.)	P	S
19.....	Miscellaneous	G or V	Miscellaneous areas	P or S	Usually P

* Listed in *Directory of Statewide Agencies*, published by Community Chests and Councils of America, 1949.

change of experience and ideas, for education, for the improvement of standards, and for the development of a sense of cohesion and unity among social workers and laymen concerned with social welfare. The United States is too big for one national conference to do all that is needed; on the other hand, a conference should represent ideas and experience from beyond the limits of any one community. So the traditional state conference open-forum function is still vitally needed.

2. *Fact-finding* is of course basic to any sound planning for social welfare. This should include the regular collection and dissemination of needed data in respect to needs and resources, the making of special surveys and studies, and the development of a comprehensive long-range plan of research into which specific fact-finding projects can be fitted.

3. *Co-ordination* and integration of effort is required—first, among the state-wide agencies, governmental and voluntary, themselves and, second, between state-wide bodies and national and local organizations. For voluntary state-wide agencies one prime requirement is the constant maintenance of an adequate liaison with state governmental agencies in the same or related fields.

4. *Joint planning and action* on state-wide problems is the acid test of much community organization effort. This kind of activity at times reaches a climax in the planning and execution of a long-range state-wide program in a particular field such as public assistance, child welfare, health, etc.

5. *Education* and interpretation is an essential aspect of the community organization process on the state-wide level as on the local and national levels.

6. *Legislative analysis, reporting, and promotion* is an immensely important

function. Every state needs competent analysis and prompt reporting of current social welfare bills during every legislative session; every state needs, moreover, a rallying point for promotion of or opposition to specific legislative proposals.

7. *The enlistment and mobilization of citizen interest and participation* in matters relating to social welfare is a test of the vitality of the community organization process in a democracy. The state-wide citizens' welfare association and any other agency that attempts a dynamic program of health and welfare planning in a state stands or falls with the effectiveness of its performance of this function.

8. It seems likely that certain functions with respect to *joint financing and allocation of funds for voluntary agencies* should be performed on the state level. The benefits of joint financing are not likely to be gained for smaller communities or counties with scattered populations without some state-wide joint financing organization. It is probable also that state chests or similar agencies may play an important role in working out the difficult problems of methods of fund-raising and the applicability of joint financing to the important national programs of agencies concerned with health and other aspects of social welfare. Experimentation is under way in this area, and it is likely to continue, with important results, within the next few years.

9. *Consultation and assistance to local communities* in reference to health and welfare planning, joint financing, and program development in specific fields is a state function of great potential importance. There is a rich field here for experimentation in co-operation between national state-wide agencies with respect to field service and the most effective

ways of channeling consultation and help to local communities.

GUIDEPOSTS TO STATE-WIDE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Can we draw any conclusions or state any principles that may serve as guideposts to the future of state-wide community organization? I submit these suggestions for the consideration of those who are interested in state-wide community organization.

1. All or nearly all of the nine functions listed above are needed in every state. These functions, then, ought to be covered in each state by some agency or agencies.

2. A state department of public welfare can and should perform certain community organization functions. But the state welfare department, as a governmental administrative agency, cannot properly, and should not be expected to, take the lead in most controversial matters of legislative promotion and social action.

3. For this reason and other reasons, *every state needs a voluntary organization concerned with broad health and welfare planning.*

4. The exact form of this voluntary agency is a matter of secondary importance. But, whatever its form, the agency probably ought to meet the following specifications for any state with a population of a million or more: (a) The agency should be a continuous, year-round "going concern." It must not be merely a "seasonal" legislative agency or an annual-meeting organization. (b) It should have a broad citizen membership and a board composed chiefly of laymen rather than social workers. (c) It should have a skilled staff with at least two professionally qualified workers, and it should have a reasonably adequate budget—

probably not less than \$25,000. (d) It should perform the major functions among those listed above.

In the largest states this should probably mean a state-wide citizens' welfare association. These agencies deserve more study and attention than they have received. They have achieved some of the most impressive results that have yet been seen in the whole area of community organization, particularly in the realm of mobilizing citizen interest and concern for health and welfare planning.

In a smaller state the action type of state conference will probably have to give the major leadership in state-wide community organization. If it is to be effective, however, the conference will need to measure up to the specifications mentioned above.

It is possible, though by no means certain, that in some smaller states a voluntary "citizens' council," or similar organization (like those in Georgia and Kentucky, for example) with health and welfare planning as one aspect of its program, may give adequate leadership in state-wide health and welfare planning.

5. The interests and so far as possible the program of the state health and welfare planning agency should be as broad as the whole field of health and welfare. This would include general public welfare organization, social insurance, public assistance and family welfare, child welfare, mental health, programs for the physically and mentally handicapped, corrections, public health, housing and planning, and recreation. It is doubtful that any existing agency covers all this ground, but such coverage seems a desirable objective. In the interests of integration and economy of effort and increased effectiveness, it would seem desirable that whenever possible community organization in a specialized field

should be carried on through a division of the central state-wide health and welfare planning agency rather than through a separate agency. The New York State Charities Aid Association and the Pennsylvania Citizens Association have indicated some of the possibilities of this sort of organization, in such areas as mental health, tuberculosis and public health, and corrections.

6. Every state-wide health and welfare planning agency which has not done so within the last five years would do well to make an inventory of the needs and resources in each of the fields in which it is active. Needs would include those in the areas of fact-finding, education, legislation, and administration. Resources would include the laws, the governmental and voluntary agencies, the adequacy and quality of employed personnel, and current budgets and appropriations. An inventory of this sort would be a basis for examining relative needs in various fields and for establishing program priorities.

7. Every state needs, and it is questionable whether any state has, a comprehensive, long-range state-wide program for the development and improvement of its total public welfare programs and services. Where a state has more than one state public welfare agency, each agency usually feels limited to its own field in planning. Even where there is a single integrated state welfare department, it may not have either the leadership or the freedom from political or administrative commitments to draft

bold or far-reaching plans. Any long-range public welfare plan that will be worth anything must be a product of joint thinking and co-operation, but it is likely that the state-wide health and welfare planning agency will frequently be in a strategic position to take the initiative and give leadership in the development of such a plan.

8. Finally, we need more research with respect to history, objectives, programs, methods, and accomplishments in state-wide community organization. We need also the production of a working literature, beginning with a practical and down-to-earth workbook, "A Guide to State-wide Health and Welfare Planning." Community Chests and Councils or the State Social Planning Executives group, or both together, could scarcely perform a more useful service than to produce or commission someone to produce such a guide or handbook. A foundation with imagination and a sense of adventure could make an immensely valuable contribution to social welfare by pioneering in research and production of literature in this field.

State-wide community organization has come of age. It is a growing and expanding field. It presents to well-equipped community organization practitioners unrivaled opportunities for pioneering, for social adventure, and for creative leadership in the field of social welfare.

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GRACE ABBOTT AND HULL HOUSE, 1908-21. PART II

E. A.

GRACE had not been long at Hull House and the Immigrants' Protective League before she became a vigorous supporter of liberal immigration policies, and she was in demand as a speaker in behalf of the so-called "new immigration." She was convinced that the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe made good citizens, and she urged that our ports should be kept open for the men and women who were trying to escape from the hardships of the life in Europe. She believed in the old tradition of the right of asylum in America, and there were some old lines about Castle Garden that she always liked:

There's freedom at thy gates and rest
For earth's downtrodden and oppressed,
A shelter for the hunted head,
For the starved laborer toil and bread.

Studying the history of immigration, she knew that the objections raised against the new immigration had all been heard once against the Irish, the Scandinavians, and the Germans—the groups which were later called "the old immigration" and accepted as "desirable." Early in January, 1912, she went to Washington to testify before a congressional committee which had under consideration the adoption of the literacy test for the restriction of immigration.²⁰ Henry Cab-

ot Lodge, who was relentless in his opposition to immigration, had been one of the earliest advocates of a literacy restriction clause in the immigration law. Grover Cleveland had vetoed a provision for a literacy test in 1897, but its advocates refused to give up. Grace's statement before the House committee shows how clearly in her three and one-half years at Hull House she had worked out the reasons why liberal immigration policies should be followed. In her testimony she said: "I constantly meet the objection that the newly arrived immigrant is distinctly different from the older immigrants. People had no fear that the Scandinavian, the German, and the older western European immigrants could not be assimilated, they tell us now. This was not always the case, however, and the changed attitude of mind is largely due to the fact that the older immigrant has been here long enough to make good."

She went on to say to a congressman who questioned her: "You and I have had an opportunity to find out by personal experience that there are Germans who succeed and Germans who fail in almost everything they undertake, that there are Germans who are public-spirited and Germans who are selfishly interested only in their own advancement. In other words, there are good Germans and dishonest Germans." That is, she thought we had learned to judge the older immigrants as individuals instead of as nationality groups. But the new immigrants, the Slovaks, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Italians,

²⁰ The literacy test was finally adopted by the Congress and was then vetoed by the President. Later, President Taft told our friend Mr. Rosenwald that "it was Grace Abbott's statement" at a hearing he had held that persuaded him to veto the literacy restriction.

the Russian Jews, and all the others, whom most of our people did not know, were on very insufficient evidence called "undesirable." The average American, she said, knew few Greeks, Bulgarians, or Lithuanians. However, she pointed out that those who came in close daily contact with the newer immigrants found that they were men and women like the rest of us—some good and some undesirable—and that it was unfair to discriminate against them as a national group.

Grace's plan for what she called a "domestic immigration policy" would have provided for the federal government to give advice and help to the immigrants when they were admitted, instead of concentrating on debarment and deportation, and she urged greater attention to the better distribution of immigrants and adequate protective services. She thought that it was important to "develop those agencies designed to protect the immigrant against exploitation and to insure his proper Americanization."

IMMIGRATION AT THE SOURCE

Finally, Grace took a leave of absence in 1911 for four months and went alone to eastern and Central Europe to see the old homes from which our new immigrants were coming. She traveled to various cities and villages in Hungary, Croatia, and Galicia and found the peasants and their landlords—or employers—very interesting. The notebooks she used, and her account of her impressions of Central Europe, published in a League report, show how well she understood the reasons for emigration from the old Austria-Hungary.

In what was then called Lemberg, later Lwów, the capital of Galicia, she met a university professor who helped her in many ways. She asked how he explained

the great Polish emigration—why were so many Poles coming to America? He told her that the first thing she needed to understand was that the peasants did not leave because they needed work, for there was plenty of work for them there at home; he knew landlords whose crops were rotting in the ground because the men and women of the neighborhood had all gone to America. It was, he thought, "a fever which was running through the entire peasantry." The peasants went to the United States as he might go to the next street.

But when Grace went on to the region he had described, she saw a potato field on which there were so many people working that "they almost touched elbows as they moved across the field." Guided by the local priest, she visited the various types of houses in the village—the poorest as well as the best. At first, she thought, you felt the appeal of the picturesque, for the little low thatched cottages were freshly whitewashed and usually had flowers in their little windows. But she did not find anything picturesque about the dirt floors, the absence of chimneys and furniture, and the long distance that all the water had to be carried. She found the school, which was comparatively new, "dirty and poorly equipped." She said she knew why they wanted to come to America when she saw most of the population of the little village gather after dusk in the little village square to be paid twenty-five cents for their day's work.

She went on a little farther to the east, and there she saw, in the neighborhood of a beet-sugar factory, "a field which seemed to be alive with men and women who were digging and topping beets. They were given, in return for their labor, two-thirds of the leaves"; and she heard that "even with this payment they

had turned away a hundred and twenty men and women who had applied for work that morning." While she learned that wages were higher and conditions better near the sugar factory and certain other industries—such as a distillery and a large dairy—she found that, even from the beautiful estates of Prince Lubomirski, who employed great numbers of peasants, the people were emigrating in large numbers. Prince Lubomirski was interested in Grace's questions, but he didn't know why so many people were leaving for America.

Grace thought the class distinctions were also an important cause of emigration; that their social and economic life was so settled that, although it kept many peasants quietly plodding on, it also sent many to try their luck in the New World. The peasant found it much simpler to break entirely with the past, to abandon the picturesque costume, the little farm, the dependence on the landlord, and to risk everything on possible success in the new country of which he dreamed. In Europe the apparent certainty that nothing could change either for themselves or for their children drove many of them away.

In visiting the families of some of the men and women she had known in Chicago, she listened to stories of America that were not always pleasant. She heard many times of the savings that had been lost in immigrant banks and was shown in one place a long list of American banks that had failed during the past year. She saw more than one woman whose husband had married again in America and had left her without any support. She was told of men who had returned sick or injured; and one man whose son had been injured in an American factory said, with pardonable bitterness: "Yes, they bring us back a few hundred crowns, but

they leave their eyes and their legs with you." When she came out of a great modern factory in Hungary, which was equipped with the latest improved machinery and devices for purifying the air, she saw a woman threshing her grain in the way that it was threshed a thousand years ago. Struck by the contrast, she stopped to speak with the woman and learned that her son-in-law had died of pneumonia in the Cook County Hospital in Chicago. She and her daughter had already managed to send over a hundred dollars to pay the funeral expenses, and they were trying to save and send two hundred dollars more because "funerals, like everything else, were very expensive in America." She did not know the name of the undertaker, but her daughter would know when she came at night. Grace could not stay to see the daughter, but she certainly made it clear to the old woman pounding her wheat that she ought not to send any more money to America.

But it was the faith in America and not the occasional criticism that impressed Grace most. She met a judge who had visited the United States some years before and who talked to her very intelligently about Miss Addams and Judge Mack of our juvenile court. Although she was much impressed with his carefully thought-out and well-administered plan for the care of dependent children in Hungary, the judge was apparently discouraged by his attempts to improve things for the children. She was surprised when he told her that it was one of the great regrets of his life that he had not gone to America to live, and he was determined that his son should not make that mistake; and he said: "Whatever is wrong in the United States, idealism still lives." Grace always thought that many of the very humble immigrants believed

this, and she said it was fortunate for America that we had large numbers of people coming here to remind us of the "promise of American life."

She went to the ports to see the arrangements made by the steamship companies for the embarkation and examination of immigrants and the provision for immigrants in transit. She found that the immigrants needed help on the way from their villages to the ports and that a Polish Emigration Society had been formed, which maintained a house at Cracow for this purpose and received some help from the Austrian government.

MASSACHUSETTS IMMIGRATION COMMISSION, 1913-14

"What do you think of this?" Grace asked as she handed me a telegram one day when we were having lunch together downtown. The telegram, which was signed by the chairman of the Commission on Immigration created by the Massachusetts legislature of 1913, asked her if she would come on to Boston for an interview with the members of the commission, who were looking for an executive secretary.

"It's wonderful, Grace," I said. "Of course you'll go—but you *must* have a new hat! Let's hurry this lunch and get one. And that commission work will be temporary, so you can take leave of absence from the League and won't really leave Chicago and Hull House."

"Well, I shall not leave the Middle West except temporarily, you may be sure of that," Grace said. Then she added: "I have made a reservation for tomorrow, and, although I do not think they will want me for their secretary after they look me over and hear what I have to say, I'll be glad to have a chance to tell them some of the things I think they should do." Then she continued,

quite firmly, "No, I don't need a new hat, and I am *not* going to get one. Why don't you lend me one if they're so important?" she asked promptly, for she knew my hats were as bad as hers.

But we got the new hat anyway. I remember it very well—a nice little brown straw with a good brim, a single brown feather, and a rose-colored velvet bow. She certainly looked very nice as she started for Boston next day, saying, "I feel foolish, you know, for there are several good people in New York who are sure to be candidates and are so much better known than I am."

She was gone several days and came back to ask for a leave of absence for six months to serve as executive secretary of the Massachusetts Commission,^{20a}

^{20a} On May 2, 1913, the governor of Massachusetts had approved the action of the General Court creating the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration with five members. The commission was to "make a full investigation of the status and general condition of immigrants within the Commonwealth, including the way of living, distribution, occupation, educational opportunities and business opportunities and facilities, and also their relation to the industrial, social and economic condition of all the people of the Commonwealth." The commission was further authorized to "procure information regarding such laws or agencies of the federal government and of other state governments as affect immigrants after their admission to the United States." The investigations of the commission were to be made "with a view to obtaining information for the enactment of such laws as will bring non-English-speaking foreigners, resident or transient, into sympathetic relations with American institutions and customs." The total expenses of the commission were not to exceed fifteen thousand dollars. The commission was to report its findings, together with any recommendations based thereon, "in print" to the General Court, on or before the second Wednesday of January, 1914. The commission, which the governor of Massachusetts appointed, held its first meeting early in June, 1913, just before Grace was asked to come to Boston to advise regarding the plans for its work.

Early in August, 1913, Grace went on to Boston. She enjoyed new experiences; and, as she had never lived in Boston, she thought the work there would be interesting.

which was to report to the legislature in 1914.

"Grace, it was the hat that did it," I said solemnly when I heard her story.

But there was a flurry of excitement about getting her off and making the arrangements to have the work of the League carried on in her absence.

Grace, as usual, worked very hard in Massachusetts, and she at once began getting out schedules on various subjects; and, although I was sure it could not be done, she had an excellent report ready for the printer in six months. She had written a comprehensive review of the situation of the immigrants in Massachusetts and had set out their need of protection as she had done for immigrants in Illinois. I thought she had prepared a remarkably swift, competent piece of research. She not only completed the work in nine months but she did not use all the appropriation—a fact which greatly impressed the commission.²¹

²¹ An unexpended balance of \$2,500 was returned to the state. One of the members of the commission said in a letter to the *New York Times* about Grace's work in Massachusetts that summer that "she planned and carried through a comprehensive investigation of conditions and wrote a report of which it was said 'on State Street' that it was the ablest State paper ever issued in the Commonwealth. The program proposed covered over fifty recommendations in the fields of education, medicine, housing, protection of savings, justice and civil rights, naturalization and distribution of the influx of newcomers of whom the State was then receiving well over one hundred thousand a year. The principal point, however, was the proposal to create a State Board of Immigration.

"Much of this program was subsequently realized to the great advantage not only of Massachusetts but of the country at large."

The writer, Emily Greene Balch of Wellesley, added: "Grace Abbott was an outstanding member of that group of exceptional women that Jane Addams gathered about herself in Hull House. . . .

"No one who has ever had the honor of working with her will ever cease to remember with admiration that spirited, upstanding figure, that fresh and tonic quality like winds of her Western country, that farsighted generosity, undefeated and utterly disinterested."

After the Massachusetts investigation Grace returned to Hull House and was again director of the Immigrants' Protective League. But in 1915 she went with Miss Addams to the Women's Congress at The Hague when what finally became the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was formed. Grace was an active member of the Hague Conference, and I know that Miss Addams thought she was very helpful. After the Congress she found it possible to go to Belgium, where she was cordially received by Brand Whitlock and was allowed to visit the occupied territory, since we were not then in the war. I was concerned about the safety of the group when their neutral ship the "Noordam" was held in the English Channel, and I went to see our old friend Louis F. Post, who was then Assistant Secretary of Labor, since Mrs. Post was with our delegation. I thought he could give me some assurance of their safe return. Later he wrote as follows:

. . . No news whatever has reached me from our folks abroad, except a cable from Mrs. Post that she was to sail by the *Ryndam* on the 8th. She is probably due at New York on the 17th or 18th. Several letters have come from her, but none of later date than the 27th of April, written before they reached Rotterdam. Whether Mrs. Post is returning alone I do not yet know. The *Noordam* got in yesterday, having left on the 1st and that may bring me letters. At least one delegate (a Brooklyn lady) is reported to me by a mutual friend as having intended to sail on her. Why Mrs. Post waited a week and why her cable said nothing of anyone else I don't know. As to the latter point she probably supposed we would get newspaper reports. It is my hope that Miss Addams and all the rest will return by *neutral vessel* at once. Yet there may be no special danger in delay, and Miss Addams is the best judge of what she ought to do. All the possibilities both for good or bad are probably better known to her than to anyone here.

After she came back, Grace organized

the series of meetings in Washington called the "Conference of Oppressed and Dependent Nationalities." This conference included chiefly representatives of the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Lithuanians and the Letts, the Russian Jews, the South Slavs, the Central Slavs, the Finns—and the Irish. Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington came and spoke eloquently for Ireland, and there were a few heated debates. At one session when Judge Mack was presiding, a Ukrainian who was connected with a nationalistic benefit organization spoke for the Ukrainian group. But when the Polish delegate who was to speak was then called on, he said very belligerently that he would not speak on the same platform with a murderer, and he charged the Ukrainian, who seemed to be a mild, pleasant little man, with having murdered a Polish governor. The Ukrainian replied that that was one of the results of their revolution and that, if he was a murderer, every soldier in every army was a murderer. There was quite an uproar, but Judge Mack skillfully restored order.

Grace said that the question before the conference was what should be our American international policy with regard to the rights of small nationalities.

JULIUS ROSENWALD

No account of Grace's life at Hull House can omit the great figure of Julius Rosenwald. The fact that he was one of the very wealthy men of our generation seemed unimportant when you knew him. A man of singular modesty, rare simplicity of manner, and great generosity of mind and spirit, he was interested in helping a large number of good causes, not merely with his great wealth, but with wise counsel and generous encouragement. He was one of the very small group of men and women

whom Miss Addams had invited to share her responsibility for Hull House as members of a board of trustees, and he came to the House not infrequently and knew the residents personally. It was a small board, for Miss Addams *was* Hull House. She gave her own funds which she inherited from her father, the owner of the mill near Freeport, and she never had a salary. She paid for her own room, for her meals, and for her many guests at Hull House, as the other residents all paid, so that everything connected with the living of the residents should be self-supporting. Miss Addams also used for the House the money that she earned writing and lecturing. Certainly we all thought the Hull House "board" was relatively unimportant. Miss Addams' personal friends on the board we saw frequently, but Mr. Rosenwald was different. An important leader in the world of business and finance, it always seemed strange that he cared about our Hull House activities.

Mr. Rosenwald had great admiration for Grace and confidence in her judgment. He was on the board of the Immigrants' Protective League all the time that she was director, generous with his gifts of money but more valuable for his gifts of time in advising with her and the other board members about programs and policies. Like Miss Addams, Mr. Rosenwald was in substantial measure responsible for the liberal, independent position of Chicago social workers. I do not believe that Grace would have stayed in social work otherwise. Mr. Rosenwald frequently disagreed with Miss Addams and the rest of us on one public question or another, but he was always firm in saying that we had a right to have different opinions and to express them, regardless of our board members, and our differences never annoyed or exasperated

him. He was just as humorous and friendly when he didn't agree with you as he was when he wanted you to know that he liked what you were doing.

Mr. Rosenwald did not agree with Grace about trade-unions, and we all felt very sorry during the garment workers' strike to think that he wasn't with us and that some of the girls who came to the meetings at Hull House were from the shops of Mr. Rosenwald's company. It was hard to be against Mr. Rosenwald as we seemed to be, but after all we were only against his policy as an employer and not against him personally. But, however we worked it out, the differences were there, and we had no hesitation about casting our lot with the strikers.

On one of the days while the strike was on, a meeting of the board of the Immigrants' Protective League had been called, and Grace could not get the board members to adjourn as promptly as they usually did. Grace had promised to speak at a strikers' meeting in a West Side hall late in the afternoon, and she finally said to the board that she had a speaking engagement and must leave. It was a bitterly cold day with a storm that was almost a blizzard. As she left the room, Mr. Rosenwald followed her out and on the stairway he took hold of her arm, and said: "Now, my young friend, you can't fool me. I know where you're going, and I know I wouldn't agree with what you're going to say if I heard you. But I want you to get there safely, and I'm going to send you over in my car so that you will be safe and dry." He went on down the stairs with her in spite of her protests and called the chauffeur from his waiting limousine and said, "Take Miss Abbott to her meeting and then come back here for me."

Mr. Rosenwald was one of the great interpreters of the Negro race and one of

their great benefactors. He had become interested in Booker T. Washington's work at Tuskegee and as a member of the Tuskegee Board of Trustees adopted the rather unusual plan of taking a party of Chicago friends with him to Tuskegee every year in the late winter when the Tuskegee board held its annual meeting. Mr. Rosenwald gave a great deal of financial help to the Negro schools in the South, and the year when Grace and I were asked to go to Tuskegee with him we were taken to visit some of the "Rosenwald Schools," as they were called. The speeches that the assembled groups made about Mr. Rosenwald and their schools were certainly interesting.

Mr. Rosenwald was also one of the active members of the board of our School of Civics and Philanthropy, and, as he was also a member of the University Board of Trustees, he helped us a great deal in our finally successful effort to have the School made one of the graduate professional schools of the University. He gave us the money for a series of our publications, and in reading some of Grace's old letters I found this note that she wrote me from Geneva in 1925:

I saw a good deal of Mr. and Mrs. Rosenwald yesterday and went with them to see some of the I.L.O. people whom they wanted to see. Mr. Butler talked a long time with J. R. (who is not at all well and is apparently under strict doctor's orders). He had in his pocket a clipping about the books in your series and was much interested—as always he sent warm regards to you and Nisba. He is very much concerned about President Burton's death—regrets that he did not have Judson's term. The University would have been the finest in America if he had.

The last time that Grace saw Mr. Rosenwald was when she was in Chicago the summer before the White House Conference of 1930, that difficult time when she was resisting President

Hoover's attempt to dismember the Children's Bureau. Mr. Rosenwald asked her to come out to spend the week end with him at his home in Highland Park. She found him far from well, but he had not lost any of his interest in her plans and her work. I think that he wanted her to know that, in spite of the generous support which he had given to Mr. Hoover, he was not supporting the Hoover attack on the Children's Bureau.

Mr. Rosenwald was a Republican in politics, and during the period from the Wilson to the Roosevelt administration he knew the three Presidents who came and went during those years, and he was always a kind and loyal friend both to Grace and to Miss Lathrop. I am sure that he helped Miss Lathrop in the successful effort she made to have Grace appointed her successor as chief of the Children's Bureau. And I know that, while Grace was carrying on the long and weary struggle for the Child Labor Amendment and for "Sheppard-Towner," Mr. Rosenwald was always willing to defend her even if he didn't always believe in her cause.²²

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN ILLINOIS

Grace was glad to find when she first went to Hull House that Miss Addams was an uncompromising supporter of women's suffrage. And during those first years at the House she had a feeling of being close to the battle lines, for Miss Addams and our friend Miss Breckinridge were both on the National Board of the American Woman Suffrage Association. Grace listened eagerly to the reports they brought back from the National Board meetings, and she felt that she was really getting news from the front.

Both of us had always been suffragists. Mother and my Quaker grandmother,

who lived with us, were staunch suffragists; and an almost militant belief in "women's rights" was one of our childhood traditions, and Grace used to say she "was born believing in woman suffrage." Even when we were quite young, Grace and I had helped with occasional meetings and speeches for suffrage when mother seemed to have too many; and we had certainly learned the arguments. But there were so few gains and they came so slowly and so many "good people" we knew were opposed to suffrage that the outlook always seemed discouraging. In state after state, year after year, one defeat seemed to follow another. But we had been brought up to believe that women must have courage and that we should never accept a defeat as final.

Now that women have had votes for

²² Later, when there was a movement by Grace's friends to have her appointed to the cabinet when the post of Secretary of Labor became vacant in the Hoover administration, Mr. Rosenwald supported Grace and got his friends to help, as the following letter which he sent her from Governor Lowden indicates:

"SINNISSIPPI FARM
OREGON, ILLINOIS
September 20, 1930

"DEAR MR. ROSENWALD:

"I am just in receipt of your letter of September 18.

"I considered myself fortunate while Governor in being able to secure Miss Abbott's services as executive head of the Immigrant Commission which was created, as I recall it, during my administration. I came in close contact with her work, which I regarded of outstanding value, and of course I formed a very high opinion of her abilities and character. I think she is eminently fitted by education, by experience, and by character for important public office.

"I have no objection at all to the people who are planning the article using my name as among those who know and value her work.

"I am hoping to have a good visit with you in the near future, and in the meantime, with warmest regards to you and all who are dear to you, I am,

"Very cordially yours,

"[Signed] FRANK O. LOWDEN"

nearly a generation, the long years of work for suffrage begin to seem like "old, unhappy, far-off days, and battles long ago." But being a suffragist was important in those early years when we lived at Hull House. At the House we found that there were many opportunities to spread the gospel, especially speaking at smaller meetings and clubs. From time to time Miss Addams would climb up to the third floor of the women's residence where Grace and I lived and would call out, "I'm looking for an Abbott to make a suffrage speech." Miss Addams was always rash about accepting speaking engagements months ahead of time, only to find that she was to be in New York or Washington or had another important appointment and could not keep the engagement. Miss Addams would say to Grace: "Now, Grace Abbott, I find I'm scheduled to speak at that small park at Ninety-eighth Street, and I just can't be there. You go out and give them one of your nice talks about woman suffrage and tell them I'm sorry I couldn't come." Some women's club ladies who had asked Miss Addams many months, sometimes a year, in advance and had taken a large hall and urged people to come to hear her would be greatly disappointed when a younger unknown person appeared to take Miss Addams' place. And the substitute certainly felt uncomfortable. But after a sometimes caustic introduction, the resident who was substituting for Miss Addams would go quietly to the speaker's desk to do her best.

In April, 1912, when a rather strange preferential ballot was proposed by one of the well-known Illinois suffragists, Grace was very much opposed to the plan. The ballot asked the voter whether he was or was not in favor of granting suffrage to women. This question was finally allowed to appear on a ballot in

the Illinois spring primaries. Grace was quite sure that the "preferential ballot" was a mistake, since it was certain to be defeated. There is little hope of success in a vote of this kind. Your enemies marshal their votes against you, but it is hard to get your good friends, let alone your somewhat indifferent supporters, to take an interest in expressing an opinion. However, although she thought the plan was a harmful waste of time, she worked very hard and tried to explain the new proposal to our Hull House neighbors. Miss Addams wanted us all to talk with the men in the neighborhood whom the different residents knew and to urge them to vote "Yes" on the preferential ballot. On the day of the primaries the residents, both men and women, who could get away from their work took turns standing within the legal line near the polls, handing out sample ballots properly marked in favor of votes for women. But that evening we learned that every ward in the city had given an adverse vote on the preferential ballot, with nearly twice as many votes against it as for it. We had suffered an unnecessary and rather humiliating defeat that did not help the cause. But we were to make great and unexpected gains in Illinois that spring through a new political party.

The Progressive party provided one of our exciting early experiences. Although women had no votes in 1912, we all went into the new party and worked as if we were able to cast ballots like the men. Miss Addams, who was one of the Illinois delegates to the convention which nominated "T. R." for President in 1912, stayed with an old friend who lived in a downtown hotel, which was headquarters for most of the delegates during the convention; and Miss Addams asked Grace and me, with Miss Breckin-

ridge and a few other residents with political interests who were in Chicago that summer, to come down to talk over some of the issues, especially the platform questions, with her. We met some of the delegates and heard many of the questions discussed, especially those involving the seating of certain Negro delegates who had appealed to Miss Addams for help. It was all wonderful for Grace, who believed in politics as the way to get things done, and she enjoyed every moment of it. We attended all the sessions of the Progressive Convention at the old Coliseum, and at the stirring last session we sang "Onward Christian Soldiers," as vigorously as the delegates.

It was no accident that the Progressive party platform declared for woman suffrage. When Theodore Roosevelt had been in Chicago some months earlier for one of the large public meetings to honor the recently naturalized citizens—a plan which Grace had promoted through the Immigrants' Protective League—Colonel Roosevelt had accepted the invitation to deliver the address welcoming the new citizens and had come for an earlier meeting in a large hall at Hull House so that the West Side neighborhood could hear him. I remember how important our boys' band was because they were to play for an ex-President. They played very badly in their excitement, but Colonel Roosevelt was quick to applaud them and to call loudly for "one more tune, boys, please one more tune."

Grace had the pleasure of riding with Miss Addams and "the Colonel," as we called him, from Hull House to the Armory, where the large meeting was to be held, and she was amused by his asking, "Now, Miss Addams, what about woman suffrage; do you think it is really important?" Miss Addams promptly gave him some reasons why she thought

it was very important, and he said quickly, "Well, that's that; I think you're right, Miss Addams, and if you're for it, I'm for it, and I'll support it!" And support it he did. He came out in his speech that afternoon with the very same arguments that Miss Addams had just made, and he ended by saying that he hoped to see the day when women like Jane Addams would have the right to vote.

In general, the Progressive party platform was a good one for that day and called for many of the social reforms that have long since been written on the statute-books. Miss Addams at once began a speaking tour for the new party and carried a heavy campaign schedule through the Middle West. She would get home on Sunday after a series of meetings in different towns, which usually meant that she had had six nights on the train and was more than a little weary. But she enjoyed it so much, she said, she just couldn't and wouldn't be tired, and we all listened eagerly to her accounts of her different audiences.

The influence of the Progressive party campaign on the suffrage movement was unmistakable in the Middle West. And our first great victory came the following spring, when in 1913 Illinois unexpectedly joined the suffrage ranks.

A constitutional amendment was impossibly difficult in Illinois, but, before the 1913 legislature met, some of the able suffrage leaders had worked out an original plan for a new kind of suffrage extension by means of an act which, without amending the constitution, would give women the statutory right to vote for all offices for which the constitution did not specify that male citizens were to be the electors. A limited suffrage act of this kind included voting for presidential electors and for all city,

county, and township officers and also gave women a vote on the public policy questions that were on the ballot. We all thought it was a brilliant and hopeful plan—and it succeeded.

The Progressives in the Illinois legislature in 1913 had promised to introduce such a bill, and they intended to keep their promise. But the woman suffrage leaders thought that it would be a mistake to have the bill sponsored by a minority party, and they persuaded the Progressives to accept another plan, which was to have the bill introduced in one house by a Democratic member and in the other by a Republican. The Progressives were generous about it; while they would have liked to have the credit for supporting the women, they worked hard for the women's bill, although it didn't belong to them.

Grace was overjoyed about the probable success of the woman suffrage bill in Illinois five years before the federal amendment was passed, for she had heard mother talk of the efforts to get something from this state legislature or that one, and she knew the defeats the suffragists had met. "I really thought I would always work for suffrage like mother and grandmother and never see a suffrage bill passed," she said when we were planning a real campaign.

The slow progress of the "women's bill" in the legislature gave us a very exciting six months—six months of very hard work for the suffrage leaders who did the work at Springfield and throughout the state. They had a unique card-catalogue system by which they kept a record of every legislator, and they held timely and successful meetings in the cities and districts where they knew the legislators were lukewarm or hostile. Miss Addams was very close to the Springfield group, and we got the latest

reports at Hull House. There were anxious days when the first and second readings came up, but a victory was won each time. On the day of the third reading the suffragists were very hopeful. The saloon interests became frightened and brought up their heavy artillery with very plausible arguments about the unconstitutionality of the "women's bill." But on June 11 the bill was finally passed, and a great victory had been won after six weary months of work by the tireless, efficient, and devoted women who had planned the battle and won the victory. But anxious days followed, for the Democratic governor was under great pressure to kill the bill by a veto. Able lawyers were found to make statements about its unconstitutionality, and the various anti-suffrage groups made every effort to persuade the governor to veto the hard-won bill. But he signed it on June 26, and great rejoicing followed. It seemed too good to be true, and I remember that Grace said: "Well, that's done. We'll never have to put in any more time asking people to give us votes. We won't have to make any more suffrage speeches. Think of the time we'll save. Now we can really do some work." There was a women's jubilee parade on the first of July; and Grace, I'm glad to say, was one of the marchers. I was very busy and thought I couldn't go down for it, but I was always ashamed that I wasn't there.

In the other states the unexpected victory in a great state like Illinois had far-reaching results. Illinois was the fifth state to give a large measure of suffrage to women; but it was more than "just another state," for it was the first suffrage state east of the Mississippi and third in the Union in population, which meant that the influence of an important

state had at last been won. The Illinois law of 1913, which provided a substantial extension of suffrage for women without a state constitutional amendment, was copied by fourteen other states. Nebraska voted on an amendment in 1914, and Grace went out to do what she could in that campaign, but it was lost by a small majority.

The first important election for the women of Illinois came in the spring of 1914, when Chicago was to elect a new mayor and other officials. We all worked hard trying to make the women in the neighborhood intelligent about their right to vote and trying to get them to register and vote in the April primaries. All the old enemies of suffrage and all the large pressure groups who had worked against our suffrage act had said that not more than 25,000 women would register. But that night when we got word that more than 200,000 women had registered in Chicago alone and many thousands more downstate, Grace organized a Hull House victory celebration.

The women in the small homes about the House were usually quite pleased when we told them, "Now you can vote, too." "Do you really mean I can vote just like a man?" a woman would say, incredulous and delighted that she now had something her husband had thought belonged only to him and was a sign of his superiority. But the men were often scornful and sometimes disagreeable, and some of the women were quite timid about voting. "You're not going to vote!" a man would sometimes say in a noisy, threatening voice to his wife. "Do you think I'd have my wife going out to a rough place like the polls to vote?"

"Well," Grace would reply, "Miss Addams is going to be one of the judges at the polls, and the polls are in the Hull House Lecture Hall, so I don't think

your wife will feel strange." But some of the women were afraid to vote.

Then there was still the hurdle of the Illinois Supreme Court, for our new suffrage act was being attacked as unconstitutional, and there was also a national amendment to be won and votes for women in many other states. So everyone was still anxious. In June, 1913, the General Federation of Women's Clubs was holding a great convention in Chicago, and the national suffrage leaders were working to get the General Federation to indorse women's suffrage. There was great rejoicing when on the same day our Supreme Court handed down a favorable decision,²³ holding the Illinois

²³ *Scown v. Czarnecki et al.*, 264 Ill. 305. Our Supreme Court followed its earlier decisions in the school suffrage cases—*People v. English*, 139 Ill. 622 (1891), and *Plummer v. Yost*, 144 Ill. 68 (1892)—which upheld the law of 1891 which gave school suffrage to women. The court held in 1914 that the legislature had "the power to provide qualifications for voters where the officers to be elected are not provided for in the constitution." The court said: "We cannot sustain the objections urged against the present act without expressly overruling those decisions as well as the numerous cases which have since followed them. Those decisions established the construction of the fundamental law of the State many years ago, and . . . when the meaning of a constitutional provision has been considered by the court and declared by its decisions, that meaning cannot be afterward considered open to question or further argument. . . . There is no higher privilege of citizenship in the State than that of suffrage. For more than twenty years that privilege has been enjoyed by women and the courts have recognized and declared their constitutional right to it. Women have been elected trustees of the State university, school directors and members of boards of education in innumerable instances. By their votes elections have been decided, important offices have been filled and important public business controlled. Ought they to be summarily deprived of their constitutional rights because of a change in the personnel of the court, because the judges who decided *People v. English* and *Plummer v. Yost* are all dead except one, even if the successors who sit in their seats should hold different views? The constitution does not change with the judges. . . . The object of the General Assembly in passing the present act was to confer upon women the right of suffrage to the fullest extent permitted by the limitations of

act constitutional, and the General Federation voted its long-deferred indorsement.

After we got the vote in Illinois, since we had only limited suffrage and could not vote for all the candidates, there was a separate woman's ballot; and as the women's votes were counted separately from the votes of the men for some years, it was possible to see whether the women voted just as the men did. I worked over the Chicago election statistics carefully and found that the election figures made a good case for the women. Grace and I were quite angry when an article in the *New Republic* about what the writer called "The Copycat Vote" said that, after all, the Illinois women had voted just like the men, so that woman suffrage didn't change the results. Grace urged me to "give them a few of your statistics," and with her help I replied²⁴ in a statement, pointing out that any discussion of the question whether or not the women's vote merely duplicated the men's vote must take into consideration the vote at the preceding mayoralty primary, held February 23, 1915. The result of this primary was that the two major parties each nominated an undesirable candidate for mayor, so that on election day men and women alike had only a choice between two undesirable men.

But there was a clear difference between the votes of men and women in the primary, and, if the men had remained away from the primary, the women would have nominated not the undesirable Republican candidate who was elected but Judge Harry Olson, chief justice of the Municipal Court, who was

the "fusion reform candidate" agreed upon by the Progressives and the reform element in the Republican party. The vote in the Republican primary showed a women's plurality of 7,080 for Judge Olson and the men's plurality of 9,405 for "Big Bill" Thompson.

That is, election statistics showed that, if the men had stayed at home on primary day, the fate of Chicago would have been different, for the women gave a substantial plurality to the better candidate. On election day the women were merely doing the best they could with the undesirable situation created by the men voters. We suggested that the cynical critic, instead of moralizing on the question of how far women voters are "obedient copycats of male opinion," should be asked rather to reflect on the possible results of disfranchising the men!

Grace urged me to go on working over the election statistics quite carefully for two years, and there were some interesting results which she thought were important enough to publish.²⁵ In general, they showed that in one ward after another a higher percentage of women than men voted for the aldermanic candidate indorsed by the Municipal Voters League.

Another last effort for suffrage was the great Woman's Suffrage Parade on June 7, 1916, down Michigan Avenue to the Coliseum, where the Republican National Convention was meeting. This "march of the women" was one of the attempts made to try to get the platform committee to adopt a suffrage plank by showing them that large numbers of

the constitution" (*Scown v. Csarnecki et al.*, 264 Ill. 305 [1914]).

²⁴ "The 'Copycat' Vote," *New Republic*, April 24, 1915, p. 304.

²⁵ See "Are Women a Force for Good Government: An Analysis of the Returns in the Recent Municipal Election," *National Municipal Review*, IV (July, 1915), 437-47, and "The Woman Voter and the Spoils System in Chicago," *ibid.*, V (July, 1916), 460-64.

women wanted the vote. Unfortunately this was a day of a very heavy rain and wind combined. But the newspapers reported that ten thousand women marched through the driving rain, most of us without umbrellas, for even if we had umbrellas we couldn't carry them in the wind. Grace had made an effort to get large numbers of women from the foreign naturalized groups, and I helped her marshal them. But at the end there was some difficulty about connecting a few banners with the contingents meant to carry them. I remember one that was marked "Lithuanian Women Want the Vote." There didn't seem to be any of the Lithuanian group within reach, and the time was short, so I took the Lithuanian banner and marched where I could find a few followers, while Grace was taking her place at the head of the group. The parade broke up when we reached the Coliseum, drenched and shivering. I hurried home in the cold wind and rain, as fast as the streetcars could get me back. As I was getting myself into warm dry clothing at Hull House, I was greatly relieved to hear Grace's voice and know that she had come home for the same purpose. "Well," said Grace, "I thought all this parading would be over when our old suffrage bill passed, but I suppose, like mother and grandmother, we'll just be at it forever." The parade made a great impression,²⁶ particularly on the men who lined the sidewalks. One of the University deans I saw watching the parade said afterward that he had been greatly moved by it. His wife was one of the marchers, and he remarked, with more feeling than I had ever known him to show before: "If I had thought that my wife cared as much about the vote as that, I think I'd have been working hard for suffrage all these years."

THE POSITION OF THE MARRIED WOMAN

Grace was much concerned about the position of the American women married to aliens, most of whom were wives of immigrant workingmen. Our Illinois law gave women the right to vote nearly ten years before the federal Cable Act was passed giving independent citizenship to women. And there were a good many women in our neighborhood who had been born in Chicago but who couldn't vote because their husbands had not been naturalized. I remember one woman who, with a sense of the im-

²⁶ From the editorial page of *Chicago American*, Thursday, June 8, 1916, which described the parade of the day before, Wednesday, June 7:

"THE PARADE OF THE WOMEN IN THE COLD WIND AND RAIN—that is something to talk about, something worth while, inspiring and noble.

"The women had said that they would march, AND THEY DID MARCH, ALTHOUGH THE HEAVY DOWN-POUR DRENCHED THEM AND THE COLD WIND CHILLED THEM.

"They were determined to show the men that they are in earnest in their demand for the vote, and they proved their earnestness nobly.

"Among the women that marched unprotected through the storm, standing or walking for hours in the cold, were thousands of women with white hair, marching side by side with thousands of other women in their early youth.

"There were many who had sacrificed a day's pay that they might prove their interest in a great question; there were others, among the richest and best known of Chicago and other cities, sacrificing comfort, risking health, in a splendid demonstration of solidarity, of loyalty to their sisters.

"None of these women of Chicago ask anything FOR THEMSELVES. THEY HAVE THE VOTE ALREADY. Their parade was a protest against injustice to their sisters in other states. It was intended to serve notice upon the Republicans, planning to rule the country for four years, that they must include JUSTICE TO WOMEN in their plans. . . .

"You could see in that parade a woman past sixty, walking in the rain on the slippery streets, ON CRUTCHES, to prove her willingness to do her duty. . . .

"What a disgrace that ten thousand women, among the best in the country, should be compelled to expose themselves, in the cold, the wind and the rain, in order to prove TO THEIR OWN SONS AND BROTHERS that they are entitled to justice and political freedom! . . ."

portance of the occasion, came to Hull House to vote. Miss Addams, sitting as one of the judges at the polls, was, in her friendly way, glad to see the woman but evidently knew about her unnaturalized husband and hesitated a little as the woman told about her pride in being a voter. Miss Addams, however, followed through the questions, and, when the woman was told that she had lost her citizenship when she married an unnaturalized alien, she couldn't understand it at first. Miss Addams explained the law very patiently, and the woman finally said, "So I can't vote because he doesn't want to vote and wouldn't make himself a citizen? Well, Miss Addams, if I'd 'a known that, I sure never would have married him."

Grace's special interest in the women who couldn't vote because of their unnaturalized husbands led her to write an interesting article,²⁷ in which she pointed out that allowing the husband to "take an oath of allegiance for his wife and demonstrate her worthiness for citizenship" by an examination he had passed was based on an outworn theory of the husband's responsibility for the wife. Grace discussed the situation of an American woman who married an alien but who wanted to retain American citizenship, particularly if she continued to live in the United States. On the other hand, an alien woman marrying an American might likewise prefer to keep her own citizenship instead of being compelled to take that of her husband. That is, an alien married woman in the United States could not become a citizen however much she might wish to do so unless her husband became naturalized. And an immigrant woman, therefore, might, through her husband's unwillingness to become an American citizen, be

denied all rights to participate in the political life of the country. And Grace told of a woman who had recently come to see her who said that she wanted to become a citizen. Her husband, who had deserted her and their children, had refused to take out his citizenship papers while they lived together. She found it hard to believe that under our laws she could not become a citizen and make her children citizens "without first doing violence to her religious scruples and incurring the expense of a divorce."

Grace also told of the inequality which came from social tradition. She had known a widow with an illegitimate child who applied for naturalization. There was abundant evidence that she had been living an exemplary life since the birth of the child. The court of naturalization and the naturalization examiner agreed that she was not of good moral character within the meaning of the law, and her petition was denied. Would that judge, Grace asked, or any other judge enforce a similar standard for men? Grace thought, therefore, that the first steps to be taken with reference to the naturalization of married women would be to give them an independent choice of citizenship and the right to initiate naturalization proceedings and larger opportunities for learning English and preparing for citizenship.

Writing later, after women had won the vote by the Nineteenth Amendment, Grace said that they were at last "on the road to constructive political achievement" and would "keep on going" even if they found the road rough at times and many discouraging detours were necessary.²⁸ The Nineteenth Amendment, Grace wrote, had "provided us with a ticket of admission to the political fairgrounds. But it did not admit us to

²⁷ See the *Survey*, September 1, 1920.

²⁸ *Independent*, CXV, 475.

the races nor to the side shows, nor did it insure us a place on the committee which awards the prizes." The most that could be said of the amendment was that it made access to these other privileges easier.

Grace pointed out that the methods of women had always been cautious but determined, and this was true of course in politics. That is, they expected to "conquer because their cause was just" rather than because they were to be feared on election day. "It is this," Grace said, "together with their faith in democracy, that sustains them in the face of defeat. This, in itself, is something of a contribution to political life. But to some it may seem to be the measure of their political inexperience."

UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1914

The year when we first went to live at Hull House, 1908-9, there was a good deal of unemployment; but our first experience with a great wave of unemployment came in 1914, after World War I had begun in Europe. Then large groups of unemployed men gathered in Bowen Hall at Hull House to demand jobs, and we were all face to face with the effect on our neighbors of a great economic disaster. Grace had so many appeals from unemployed individuals that she was eager to "do something" and urged Miss Addams to try to plan some special work for the neediest of our neighbors. "Why, of course, Hull House must help," was Miss Addams' immediate response. "I'll find some money, and we will try to take up the slack by having some house-repair work planned immediately and new jobs made available."

Miss Addams got a special fund, and Hull House soon began to give a few days' work each week to as many men as possible. But even when the work was

extended to cleaning the near-by streets and alleys over and over again, the work we gave was only a drop in the bucket. Grace said it was like trying to sweep back the tide with a broom. The near-by streets soon were spotlessly clean—and kept clean—and the alleys were immaculately clean—but in the early winter of 1914, when everything was at a standstill, the men roamed the streets and stood in line at the doors of the private employment agencies in Canal Street. Miss Addams still kept some men at work, but the increasing numbers were discouraging. A kindhearted man (Malcolm McDowell) set up a coffee wagon and handed out a cup of coffee and a bun to every man who came, and many of them were there standing in line night after night in the old Haymarket Square. The Municipal Lodging House overflowed with unemployed men. It was a bewildering experience for some of us. "I don't know what to do and haven't even a law to propose as a remedy," Miss Addams said in her confession of failure. There were frequent meetings of the unemployed in one of the Hull House halls and marches of the unemployed down Halsted Street; but all the time more people seemed to be out of work, and Grace of course knew many of the men and knew that their wives and children were hungry.

HULL HOUSE VISITORS

In the old Hull House days there were a good many foreign visitors, some of whom stayed with us for long periods of time. One year Miss Addams invited Mrs. Barnett, whom we often described as the "wife of Toynbee Hall," to come to Hull House during an American tour after her husband's death. But Mrs. Barnett needed a great deal of attention, for she was interested in everything and

came and went to meetings and made addresses and reported on changes since her earlier Hull House visits with Canon Barnett. One day Miss Addams stopped Grace and said, "You know, Mrs. Barnett is quite curious about what a great mail-order house is like, and I wish you would take her out to Sears Roebuck. I know if she goes with you," Miss Addams added, "she will really enjoy it." We were all glad to try to help Miss Addams take care of the numerous guests who made such heavy demands on her time and strength. So Grace made the necessary appointment for a good guide at "Sears," and off they went. Grace reported that Mrs. Barnett was staggered by their sales figures, their vast clerical staff, their wonderful equipment. Suddenly the guide took them into a large room lined with books and asked very slowly and impressively, as they stood looking at the book-lined room, which seemed rather out of place in a mail-order house, "Now, ladies, did you ever hear of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*?" Mrs. Barnett was so astonished by the question that she could scarcely speak.

"Did I—did I—ever hear of the *Britannica*? Why, why, I wrote such—and such—Why, I—I—."

"Well, I don't know anything about that," the guide replied imperturbably, "but one million copies of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* have been sold from this room!" For some reason Grace found this story more amusing than did Mrs. Barnett, who seemed to think everything was strange and interesting.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FIRST FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

"Edith," said Grace's voice on the telephone in March, 1917, "I've just heard from Miss Lathrop again about the Children's Bureau and the Federal

Child Labor Law. She still is very sure that she wants me to come on and be the administrator of the new law. What do you really think, Edith?—To go or not to go—that is the question! I say go. It will be very interesting, for one thing, and there isn't going to be anything in the way of immigration again until after the war."

"Of course you must go," I replied at once, "I've thought a lot about it since J. Lathrop was here. It's a chance to do something important that needs to be well done and that you can do better than anyone else, as Miss Lathrop knows. And you will enjoy Washington for a change. But you won't stay there permanently, will you? What an empty place Hull House will be! Let's go back for lunch and talk to Miss Addams about it."

"No," said Grace, "you and I had better have lunch down here near the office and go over possibilities. It certainly is a big job for me to take on," she added, "but I think that the experience of setting up the new enforcement machinery is something very important as well as very interesting. The act doesn't go into operation for nearly six months, and I thought that it might be some time before Miss Lathrop decided things. But she thinks—with her usual wisdom—that I should be there and have time to get a staff ready to begin work on the day set by the law. You know that she talked with me about it when she was here last time and said then that I would hear from her officially before long."

"In a way it is temporary," Grace said when we met later at luncheon, "for you know that Mrs. Kelley says the Federal Child Labor Law will probably soon be declared unconstitutional. While she thinks it is anybody's guess what the court will do, she has so little respect for

their decisions that I think she expects one that will nullify the law."

Miss Lathrop, who had such confidence in Grace's ability as an administrator, was delighted that she was ready to come early enough to take charge of the plans for getting the new law in operation promptly. Ever since she had been chief of the new federal Children's Bureau, Miss Lathrop had often tried to interest Grace in joining the Bureau staff. But Grace found living at Hull House and working on immigration problems more interesting than work in a government bureau. In spite of her affection and respect for Miss Lathrop she would not give up her work and leave Chicago for what was then a research program in Washington—even when she knew that it was a constructive program like Miss Lathrop's which would show what the states and the federal government ought to do for children.

Chicago, the great inland receiving station for vast numbers of immigrants and the center for the distribution of the casual labor supply for the whole country, with all the questions of the development and enforcement of labor legislation, was, Grace thought, more important than any research bureau.

But when Miss Lathrop wanted her to take charge of the work of enforcing the new hard-won Federal Child Labor Law in the spring of 1917, immigration had reached a very low point because of the war, and it might be years before immigrants would be coming again from Europe. Another point of difference was that Grace liked administrative work better than the kind of "social research" that the government carried on. Federal legislation for child welfare and federal-state relationships were, as Grace knew, very important—with wonderful gains possible in the broad field of social wel-

fare. There was also reason to think that the new position might be only temporary, since it was known that the southern millowners were planning to launch an attack on the basis of the constitutionality of the new child labor law. And they had a good chance of success before the Supreme Court of that day. Therefore, Grace decided not to resign her old position but to take leave of absence again, and begin work in Washington April 1, 1917, as director of the newly established Child Labor Division of the Children's Bureau, where the administration of the first Federal Child Labor Law had been placed.

The weaknesses of the Illinois Child Labor Law, its disgracefully incompetent methods of enforcement, administered by political appointees; our make-shift system of providing "age and school certificates," with no clearance with the schools; and the lack of protection that was offered the children of Chicago, Grace knew at firsthand. Anything was accepted then as "proof of age," although Illinois was considered one of the "better states" in the field of child labor legislation. Keeping immigrant children from getting "working papers" illegally had been one of Grace's responsibilities at Hull House and the League. In 1911 there seemed to be a possibility of getting the 1903 Child Labor Law amended, and Grace helped Miss Addams rally the old friends of child labor when a new state law seemed possible. Mrs. Kelley,²⁹ as always, came out to help; but the bill was lost, and the children who should have been in school stayed in the factories. A new child labor law in Illinois was not finally won until 1917, after the federal law had been passed and Grace had gone to Washington to administer it.

The attempt to prevent child labor by

²⁹ See this *Review*, XXIV, 376.

means of a federal act instead of the slow, laborious, piecemeal state-by-state legislation³⁰ in widely separated areas was a new issue when Grace went to Hull House to live in 1908. As early as December, 1906, when Theodore Roosevelt was President of the United States, the first proposals for a federal child labor law had been made in Congress when Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, and Congressman Herbert Parsons, of New York, introduced identical bills (S. 6562 and H.R. 21404) to prevent the employment of children in factories and mines,³¹ and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, also sponsored a measure designed to "prohibit the employment of children in the manufacture or production of articles intended for interstate commerce" (S. 6730). The bills were all referred to the appropriate committees, without any further action on them being taken during the session.

On January 23, 1907, Senator Beveridge offered his bill as an amendment to the bill (H.R. 17838) to regulate the employment of child labor in the District of Columbia, and he spoke for four days in the Senate on the extent of the evils of child labor and the constitutionality of the proposed measure.

In the next ten years various federal child labor bills were introduced in one Congress after another, and some progress was made. That is, there were usually hearings on the bills in committee, where they were killed or reported out but not brought to a vote; or they were

defeated on the floor in one house and passed in another. While the subject was kept alive, "its tortoise-like progress seemed all too slow to the impatient friends of children."

A national minimum age of fourteen years which had been generally adopted in the northern states for working children was hoped for; and although these laws were on the whole not well enforced even after they were written on the statute-books of the states, it was conditions in the South—especially in North and South Carolina—that furnished the best evidence of the need of a federal law. The employment of large numbers of young children in the South led to national and even international criticism in the twentieth century. As Grace said, "The millowners were riding high in those days, and in the textile states of the South legal standards were low and were generally disregarded."³² It is true that the exploitation of the children in the mills did not pass unchallenged in the South." There were liberal southerners who joined in an attack on the unrestricted employment of the "poor white" children in the southern mills.

But Grace thought that it was to be expected that the southern manufacturers should demand the same freedom in the exploitation of children that the millowners of England and of New England had had in turn and that the southern textile states should denounce the

³⁰ See Grace Abbott, *The Child and the State*, I, 461-64, for the history of the attempts to have the federal government regulate child labor.

³¹ For the speech of Senator Beveridge supporting the provision of "a national method for stopping this distinctly national evil," see *Congressional Record* (2d sess., 59th Cong.), XLI, Part II, 1552. See also *ibid.*, XLI, Part I, 53. For comment on the Lodge Bill see Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era*, pp. 250-51.

³² In 1917 the minimum age in the southern states was as follows: Alabama, fourteen years; Florida, fourteen years in factories and twelve in stores; Georgia, fourteen years in and about factories, but children twelve years of age who were orphans or whose fathers were dead could be granted special work permits; Kentucky, fourteen years; Louisiana, fourteen years; Mississippi, twelve years for boys and fourteen for girls in factories and canneries; North Carolina, thirteen years in factories, but children of twelve could be employed as apprentices; South Carolina, fourteen years in factories; Tennessee, fourteen years; Virginia, fourteen years.

movement for federal legislation as the effort of northern agitators to kill the infant industries of the South. Like the earlier manufacturers, they believed that the promotion of industrial prosperity was more important than the protection of children.

When the Democratic party came into power after the election of 1912, the South was in a strong position in both houses of Congress and was successful during the first years of the Wilson administration in blocking the child labor bill. Its passage, however, was finally demanded when the 1916 presidential election was on the horizon. As a result of President Wilson's efforts, almost ten years after Senator Beveridge introduced his bill, the first federal child labor law³³ was enacted—with the provision that it should not become operative for another year.

In general, public opinion supported the new law as far as it was understood—for men and women everywhere have always believed in giving children the opportunity for education, and there was general approval of the policy of putting an end to the employment of young children; public opinion also had approved the legislative establishment of a national minimum for the protection of children as indicating the beginning of a new national policy.³⁴ But many people did not understand the situation, and they had the traditional fear of placing too much power in the federal government. When the law was finally passed and the administration was given to the new Children's Bureau under Miss

Lathrop, the Hull House group thought that a great step forward had been taken.

The new law, which was to become effective in September, 1917, prohibited the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of the products of mines or quarries in which children under sixteen years of age had been employed or permitted to work; and of mills, canneries, factories, workshops, or manufacturing establishments in which children under fourteen years of age had been employed, or children between fourteen and sixteen years of age had been employed, or permitted to work more than eight hours a day, or six days a week, or before six in the morning or after seven o'clock in the evening. The act thus provided for an age-and-hours minimum and a six-day week, but it did not carry any provisions regarding physical fitness or education. A child of fourteen could work even if he was illiterate and had incipient tuberculosis.

In a number of states the state law had to be radically amended before a reasonably satisfactory certificating system could be assured. Since many legislatures were in session in 1917 which would not meet again until 1919, it was thought to be important to call the attention of the states to the advantages of a common state and federal standard in the issuing of certificates. Grace was anxious to avoid the expense to the government and inconvenience to the child, the employer, and the state of having both federal and state certificating systems. It was important, therefore, that, if the state laws and administrative policies made it possible, state certificates should be accepted for the purpose of the federal act. Before the adoption of the rules and regulations, a letter was sent to the governors of the various states calling attention to the provisions of the Federal

³³ The Owen-Keating Bill, "An Act To Prevent Interstate Commerce in the Products of Child Labor," 39 *U.S. Statutes*, Part I, chap. 432, p. 675 (1916).

³⁴ Grace Abbott in *Administration of the First Federal Child Labor Law* (Children's Bureau Publication No. 78 [Washington, D.C., 1928]).

Child Labor Act and the hope of the federal officials responsible for its administration that the confusion of a double certifying system could be prevented.

Birth certificates were available for less than 1 per cent of the applicants. In the states in which the largest number of children applied—North Carolina (0.2) and South Carolina (0.3); less than 2 per cent in Georgia (1.4) and Mississippi (1.8); and 6 per cent in Virginia—there were few birth certificates.

An insurance policy was sometimes a reliable record, but mothers complained that the policy had been taken out by the father and that "he, of course, could only guess at the age."

Bible records in which the date and place of birth were recorded at the time of birth have been useful except that, since this record belongs to the family interested, alterations are not infrequently made.

To organize the machinery for enforcing the first Federal Child Labor Law called for pioneer work in the field of public administration. There were new administrative problems of federal-state-local relationships in working out the best administrative machinery to make effective a new kind of federal protective legislation to be enforced locally. Grace was soon absorbed in problems concerning the selection and preparation of her new staff, the issuing of employment certificates for children, and the inspecting of the mills in various states. It was necessary to have a competent staff, but qualified persons who had had experience in factory inspection were not easy to find. The state labor departments in those days did not have many nonpolitical employees who had served as inspectors, but a few were secured by a civil service examination along with a few

other persons with competent experience who could be trained for the new work and could be depended on not to have political favorites.

To avoid state antagonism to federal control, Grace tried to organize the federal child labor authority so that the enforcement of the new law would be correlated with the work under the various state laws—for she was always practical and she knew how jealous the states were of their "rights" and how important it was to find a basis of co-operation between the federal government and the states. She decided to use the state systems of certification, inspection, and enforcement whenever they were even reasonably competent or could be expected to become reasonably competent without prolonged delays.

The new law was the beginning of labor regulation by the federal government in the states on a nation-wide basis. One of her colleagues³⁵ said: "With no precedent in the way of any previous federal labor legislation, and with no opportunity during the short span of its existence to revise the program in the light of experience, methods and procedures for the enforcement of the first Federal Child Labor Law were developed with such promptness in decision and sureness of judgment that in the few months of its operation the program received a thorough test." And she added that the methods and policies which Grace worked out for its enforcement were "made the basis, so far as legislative provisions allowed, for the enforcement of both of the later Federal measures for the regulation of child labor."

³⁵ Ellen Nathalie Matthews, who came to Washington from the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission to be assistant administrator of the Child Labor Division.

In the summer of 1917 an attempt was made by some enemies of the new child labor law to postpone the enforcement of the new law until after the war. But Grace and Miss Lathrop were successful in winning support for their arguments in favor of letting the new law go into effect on September 1, 1917, and this position on the part of the federal government did much to prevent ill-considered attempts on the part of state legislatures to weaken or suspend their child labor laws as wartime measures; and state officials were encouraged to oppose local demands for relaxation in the protective legislation for children.³⁶

Grace found that it was necessary at first to take over the direct enforcement of the new law in only four states—North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi. Later, Virginia was added to the list. In three of these states,³⁷ not only were the state child labor standards lower at every point than the standards in the new federal law, but she found that employers and public officials as well as parents and children knew nothing about a state certificating system; and Grace very properly insisted that children's employment certificates were the backbone of a proper system of enforcement and inspection.

In nine months 25,330 children had applied for certificates, and 19,696 certificates were issued by Grace's staff, with 9,377 going to North Carolina children, 5,874 to South Carolina children, 2,897 to Georgia children, 1,210 to Virginia

children, and 338 to children of Mississippi. I was in Washington at one time when she was examining the disputed age records for many of these children.

"Look at these, Edith," she called, "if you're really interested in my problem of enforcement."

She showed me old family Bibles—and such Bibles, with records obviously changed with ink of different color—which had been sent to Washington from states where there was no system of birth registration to prove that the inspector was wrong in refusing to issue a certificate to a child of ten or eleven or twelve who claimed to be fourteen.

This can only be a very brief account of the many details of the organization Grace worked out for the administration of the first Federal Child Labor Law, which was passed in September, 1916, which went into operation on September 1, 1917, and was then declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court approximately nine months later.

THE TRAGEDY OF "HAMMER V. DAGENHART"

On June 3, 1918, came the tragedy of *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (247 U.S. 251), which destroyed all the carefully made plans of the Children's Bureau. In this case, which should never be forgotten by the friends of children, the Supreme Court made one of its greatest mistakes. By a five-to-four decision our country's highest court took the children out of the schools and sent them back to the mills and canneries, and twenty-three years later in the case of *United States v. Darby Lumber Co.* (312 U.S. 100, 657) the Court overruled the 1918 decision and said that it had been wrong in the earlier opinion. The later decision of the Supreme Court which overruled *Hammer v. Dagenhart*

³⁶ "Many state officials reported that the federal law had made the enforcement of state laws easier than before the war; so that evidence seemed to indicate that during the winter of 1917-18 there was less rather than more employment of children in violation of State laws than in previous years" (Grace Abbott, *Administration of the First Federal Child Labor Law*, op. cit., pp. 13-14).

³⁷ North Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi.

was a unanimous opinion upholding the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which included regulation of child labor in interstate commerce. While there was great rejoicing among the friends of children both because the new law had been upheld and because *Hammer v. Dagenhart* had been set aside, there were some who pointed to the opportunities that had been lost by the children who had been sent back to work in 1918.

The Congress had tried in 1916, under its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, to prevent child labor by preventing the products of the mines, mills, and factories on which children had been employed from being used in interstate or foreign commerce over which Congress had control. Late in August, 1917, some millowners got the father of two boys in a cotton mill in Charlotte, North Carolina, to ask for an injunction against William C. Hammer, the United States district attorney in the western district of North Carolina, which enjoined him from enforcing the new law. An appeal went to the Supreme Court, and for nine months while the law was in operation everyone who knew about the case and who cared for children hoped in vain that the Supreme Court would sustain the act. But finally on June 3, 1918, the Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the district court by handing down an opinion declaring that the law was not a legitimate exercise of the power of Congress to regulate commerce and was therefore unconstitutional.

This decision, which the Supreme Court, twenty-three years later, said was a mistake, ended abruptly the carefully organized work of enforcement. But the law, during the nine months it was in operation, had done a great deal for children, and there had been time to demonstrate that the employment of children

in interstate commerce could be stopped without interfering with the rights of the states. Writing before her death, and before the Supreme Court had overruled *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, Grace pointed out that "the plan of federal-state co-operation in administration, which was made possible by the law and fully utilized by the Children's Bureau, increased the respect for state laws and state-enforcing machinery. With the federal restrictions removed, little children were re-employed in the southern mills (particularly in North Carolina), and millowners rejoiced over the protection the Supreme Court had given them."³⁸

The officers found among the children at work under fourteen years of age some who were under ten years of age; two were only five years of age, nine were six years, nine were seven, twenty-eight were eight, and forty-three were nine years of age. "In some instances the officers were detained in the mill or factory office until many of the children had been sent home and in others the children ran or hid as the officer approached, so that all the children employed in the factories visited were not interviewed. Occasionally objection to the inspection was made by the management, and acting under instruction the officers of the Child Labor Division did not press the matter."

The mills went back from the federal eight-hour day to the long day of eleven hours, and, in the mills which were working day and night shifts, children under sixteen years of age were found illegally employed on the night shift. "Two brothers aged twelve and nine were found helping an older sister on alternate nights at one mill. On the night the inspector visited the mill, the twelve-year-old boy

³⁸ See Grace Abbott, *The Child and the State* (1938), I, 463.

was observed pushing a truck of bobbins around the spinning frames; later the same night he was found asleep in his bobbin truck."

The mills of the gods ground so slowly that scores of thousands of children were deprived of their right to become competent citizens of our great democracy. Month in, month out, from the time of *Hammer v. Dagenhart* in 1918 to the time when the Children's Bureau began to enforce the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, large numbers of children worked for long hours in insanitary factories and were deprived of their only chance of an education because the Court by a vote of five to four followed an outworn social philosophy and sentenced an army of little children to be the disinherited citizens of our republic.

THE WAR LABOR POLICIES BOARD 1918-19

Grace did not return to Hull House immediately but remained in Washington. She served as consultant to the War Labor Policies Board as a representative of the Children's Bureau. At the suggestion of the War Labor Policies Board, the War Department immediately directed the insertion in all its procurement contracts of a clause prohibiting the employment of child labor and establishing in the plants of contractors to the department substantially the same requirements on this subject. This action on the part of the War Department often encountered opposition from a substantial group of southern contractors. The department's position, however, was clear. That is, that the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor with the machinery which Grace had developed to enforce the Federal Child Labor Law should be made available to the War

Department to enforce the provisions in its procurement contracts dealing with the same subject.

Thus, at the request of the War Labor Policies Board³⁹ and the War Department, Grace had undertaken to organize and to carry out the inspections necessary to determine whether contractors were observing the clause with reference to the employment of children which had been inserted in all army contracts and in all other war contracts. Grace also had charge of an investigation of the employment of children in shipyards, made at the request of the Emergency Fleet Corporations industrial division.

Grace did not intend to stay long in Washington. She got a furnished apartment in the same building where Miss Lathrop was established, and they had most of their meals together in the modest café. Many old Chicago friends were in Washington for some war service from time to time and often joined them.

³⁹ The War Labor Policies Board had been established in May, 1918, by the Secretary of Labor, with the approval of the President, more effectively to co-ordinate the labor activities of the various departments and agencies of the federal government. Each department or agency which dealt with the labor problem appointed as its representative on the War Labor Policies Board the ranking member of the department engaged in the labor field.

Among the problems that became subjects of special inquiry by the board were the following: central recruiting of labor; standardization of wages and conditions of work; deferred classification of skilled workers; dilution and training of labor; employment of women and children; sanitary code for the explosives industry; stimulation of production; standardization of clauses affecting industrial relations in government contracts; centralization of the collection of industrial statistics by federal agencies; living conditions of workers; demobilization and reconstruction (see *Report of the Activities of the War Department in the Field of Industrial Relations during the War* [Washington, 1919]).

The War Labor Policies Board did not have the detailed administration of labor problems but served instead as a clearing-house for discussion by various departments of problems presented by individual departments.

Those of us who remember them as they were together at that time knew something of their skill in planning for the next step in child labor legislation—or any other phase of the welfare movement. They worked together, each with complete confidence in the other's ability.

Miss Lathrop and Grace were both statesmen. They were staunch in their integrity and never wavered when an important principle was at stake. But administrative work often involves a kind of subtle strategy and an unerring ability to distinguish quickly between important questions of principle and minor questions of policy. They both had this gift of discriminating between the essential and the nonessential that is such an important factor in successful public administration.

Late in December, 1918, Miss Lathrop and Grace went to Europe to make plans for an international Child Welfare Conference. Miss Lathrop had planned to have the year 1919 called "Children's Year" in the hope of popularizing the need for some child welfare legislation, and the President had granted the Children's Bureau a fund for a Children's Year program. This became a series of conferences and is now referred to as the second "White House Conference," and Grace stayed on as secretary of the conference with a series of meetings held in different parts of the country.

At this time Grace also represented the Children's Bureau in connection with the work of the organizing committee of the First International Labor Conference in London in August, 1919, and she was later secretary of the Children's Committee of the new International Labor Conference in Washington.

THE ILLINOIS STATE IMMIGRANTS' COMMISSION

Grace was eager to return to Hull House and to Chicago and the wide sweep of immigration questions, with all the related legislative and labor problems, and it seemed possible at last to get a state immigration commission in Illinois with administrative authority as well as opportunities for social investigation. Governor Lowden at once wanted her to come back to be secretary of the new Illinois State Immigrants' Commission. Although she had long hoped and planned to have the work that was done by the Immigrants' Protective League carried on by a public authority, she did not want the Immigrants' Protective League dissolved, because she wanted something in the way of an outside organization to protect the new public commission from political raids.

Grace undertook immediately an investigation of the conditions among the immigrants in the southern Illinois coal-mining districts and found the same need for help that she had found in immigrant communities in Chicago.⁴⁰ Another phase of the work that she organized promptly was work with the schools—an adult-education program, as well as the enforcement of the compulsory education law for immigrant children.⁴¹ She used the method she had worked out earlier for Chicago—having the names of all children arriving at the ports of entry sent to the new state commission with their ages and addresses, and then sent out promptly to the different school superintendents throughout the state. It was a method that had brought good results in the old days, and, now that

⁴⁰ See her report, *The Immigrant and the Coal-mining Communities in Illinois* (Springfield, 1920).

⁴¹ See her report, *Educational Needs of Immigrants in Illinois* (Springfield, 1920).

she was a public official and the work was being done by a public commission, she was sure that it would be much more effective—and she was right.

Headquarters of the new commission were in Chicago, but she frequently went to Springfield and to other parts of the state, determined to popularize the work of the new state authority. She organized the work of the commission on the basis of her Chicago experience so that the new state agency would be able promptly to meet, on a state-wide scale, the same problems and provide the same kind of preventive and protective machinery she had set up under the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago.

She was developing in the new state commission a sound public welfare authority when everything came to an end after Governor Lowden had been succeeded by Governor "Len" Small. Grace had organized her staff on a state civil service basis, but the new governor at once sent one of his followers to find out about the employees of the commission.

"I have the names of all your employees here," one of them said, "and now I want you to enter the ward and the precinct that each worker represents."

"But every employee here is on civil service," was Grace's reply. "I don't know anything about their wards or precincts. All I know is that they are competent employees."

"Well, I'll come back next week, and in the meantime will you please get the wards and precincts for each of your employees. The governor wants them."

When he found that Grace and the commission were absolutely nonpolitical and would not become political, the governor vetoed the commission's appropriation. On June 30, 1921, the new commission was actively at work. The next day it ceased to exist, and the tents that she had set up so sturdily were folded up overnight. Grace had known that the new governor was a patronage man and that she would probably have trouble. But when the appropriation had been approved in the legislature, she had not expected any immediate disaster. She hurriedly reorganized the Immigrants' Protective League, with headquarters at Hull House, and moved such files and such material as were not state property, and set the old machinery of the League in motion as promptly as possible. This might, of course, be pointed out as an example of the superiority of private over public organization for social welfare. But Grace never had any doubt about this question. No private organization and no group of private organizations—whether for child welfare, relief, recreation, or protective work—would ever have funds, privately subscribed, to do the work adequately. Public work, in the long run, was therefore inevitable; and the uncertainties and disappointments of public work were more than balanced by its greater resources and effectiveness. Very soon, however, it became clear that she would be Miss Lathrop's successor as chief of the Children's Bureau. And she finally left Hull House for the Children's Bureau in August, 1921.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

ADVISORY SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

The advisory social welfare services, which began in 1946 when the United Nations took over UNRRA's work in this field, include various forms of aid to governments, "including expert advice and assistance, provision of training material, and arrangements for fellowships and seminars."

The *United Nations Bulletin* reports that at its last session the General Assembly requested that the Social Commission and the Council revise, in the light of the experience gained during the last three years, the policies laid down in the General Assembly resolution which at present governs these services.

The *Bulletin* reports that, after thorough discussion in its Social Committee, the Council unanimously recommended a resolution under which the General Assembly would authorize the Secretary-General to take the following action:

Arrange for a requisite number of social welfare experts to provide advisory services at the request of governments to help put into practice new social welfare methods; make provision for suitably qualified social welfare officials to observe and familiarize themselves with the experience and practice of other countries in any branch of social welfare; provide a service whereby those who could not receive suitable training in their own countries could obtain training in countries having the necessary facilities; plan experimental or demonstration projects in countries requiring them, the necessary equipment for which would be provided by the Secretary-General.

The resolution also authorized the Secretary-General to furnish technical publications and films to plan and conduct seminars.

The major modifications proposed in the revised text for the Assembly resolution on the advisory welfare services related to organizational details for the expansion of the program and to the criteria for the selection of fellows, experts, etc. More emphasis is placed on the needs of underdeveloped areas.

In the course of the discussion all members were agreed that the advisory social welfare services represented one of the most successful activities of the United Nations.

HEALTH FOR THE WORLD'S CHILDREN

A recent WHO Newsletter gave some excerpts from an address which Dr. Martha M. Eliot, formerly of the United States Children's Bureau and now Assistant Director-General of WHO, delivered before the Sixth International Congress on Pediatrics.

Dr. Eliot spoke of the vastness of the problem that WHO was facing in the field of child health. She thought that, although "accurate and reliable statistics exist only in a small number of countries, we are probably under- rather than over-estimating the actual situation today when we state that, in many parts of the world, one out of every four babies born alive dies in infancy. The importance of the Maternal and Child Health Programme of WHO to the total work of the Organization is sufficiently proved by another fact; that at least two-fifths of the world's total population consists of children and youth under 18 years of age."

Dr. Eliot also said that WHO is promoting the health of the world's children. The programs aimed at overcoming communicable disease and strengthening national health services are of utmost importance to children. WHO's direct approach to child

care is carried out by the Maternal and Child Health Section of WHO, which was established in 1948. Its work is guided to a great extent by recommendations made by the first WHO Expert Committee on Maternal and Child Health, which met in Geneva, January, 1949.

Perhaps the most important of all the recommendations of this Expert Committee was the one urging governments to establish official administrative divisions on maternal and child health under the direction of well-qualified and experienced specialists and to promulgate the necessary legislation for this purpose.

Among the proposals made by the Committee, the following are of special interest:

1. The stimulation of research and investigation of conditions affecting the well-being of children.
2. The provision of technical information in the form of monographs and bibliographies.
3. The sending of expert advisers and demonstration teams to countries requesting them, with emphasis on the needs of underdeveloped countries.
4. The expansion of the existing fellowship and training program, with emphasis on the training of nurses, nurses' aides, midwives, nutritionists, and health educators, as well as physicians.
5. The incorporation of teaching in mental health in every program of study for fellows in maternal and child health.
6. The establishment of a special health education service within WHO.
7. The co-operation with UNICEF in the organization of maternity services and all kinds of child health clinics, including clinics for handicapped children and child guidance clinics and the extension of mass immunization campaigns.

Continuing, Dr. Eliot said further:

In the beginning of its child health work WHO undertook a number of general surveys to determine the basic requirements of countries, which have been carried out by WHO maternal and child care consultants in Malaya, Borneo, Singapore, Hongkong, the Philippines, Thailand, Afghanistan, Egypt and India. These general surveys are useful in providing background information, and are being continued as indi-

cated. In the Eastern Mediterranean region the maternal and child health adviser is at present reviewing the child health problems in a number of countries in order to advise on how the most pressing needs can be met in each country. Attention is concentrated on particular problems depending on the stage of development of the child health services and how they can be best organized in local areas. In some countries emphasis must first be placed on training medical and nursing personnel. In others, problems of nutrition and infant care, including even the care of prematurely born babies, come first, or immunization against smallpox and diphtheria or whooping cough. In still others emphasis must be placed on tuberculosis in childhood and the use of streptomycin in tuberculous meningitis, or in the use of penicillin in the treatment of syphilis and yaws. As a result of such special studies pointing out specific needs, much assistance has been given to governments by joint WHO/UNICEF planning and action, WHO providing the technical advice and assistance, UNICEF the supplies and equipment.

In addition to such joint activities with UNICEF, WHO provides at the request of governments many special consultation services that affect child health. Thus, Chile and India have had consultation from medical, nursing and physical therapy experts in the treatment of poliomyelitis and its after care; Finland in discovering the reason for an unexplained increase in infant deaths; the Philippine Islands in establishing its child guidance programme; Venezuela and Yugoslavia in developing a mental health programme, including child guidance; and so on. . . .

In summing up, Dr. Eliot said that WHO is a medium through which people can help people, nations can assist nations, in attaining health. In this sense the fate of the world's children, to which the Sixth International Congress of Pediatrics was devoted, will be influenced by the support that can be given. Once there is understanding as to what can be accomplished for the health of children through WHO, there will be no lack of support, and year after year children will come into the world more fit and will grow to a healthier maturity because of the efforts of the pediatricians and those of WHO.

CHILDREN AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Economic and Social Council found that there was general agreement among all representatives that a United Nations fund for children should be continued, and this was the principal feature of the Council's discussion on long-range activities for children. The *United Nations Bulletin* reports that the Council recommended that the General Assembly amend its resolution under which the present United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund operates. These amendments would continue the Fund, with revised terms of reference shifting the emphasis from immediate to long-term objectives and with provisions regulating relations with the specialized agencies concerned.

The Council finally recommended that a United Nations fund for children "should be set up for the purpose of: (a) providing supplies, training services and advisory assistance in support of the recipient countries permanent programs for children; and (b) meeting relief needs in case of serious emergencies."

This organization would be called "United Nations International Children's Endowment Fund," thereby retaining the initials "UNICEF," which are now so widely used as a short title. It would take over the assets of the present Emergency Fund as from January 1, 1951.

The specialized agencies concerned and the United Nations, each in its respective sphere of its responsibility in collaboration with UNICEF, should develop and give technical approval to programs of assistance to governments to be presented to the Board. The administration of the Fund would be assisted by an Advisory Committee composed of the United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned, in order to co-ordinate procedures of co-operation and to exchange information with a view to promoting the most effective action on behalf of children. The membership of the new Board would comprise the governments represented on the Social Commission, and other governments, not necessarily Members of the United Nations,

designated by the Economic and Social Council.

A further amendment recommended to the Assembly provides that the central administrative expenses of the Fund should be met from the United Nations budget. The operations of the Fund would continue to be financed by voluntary contributions from governments and private sources, but it is proposed that the General Assembly should review the financial situation of the Fund, and consider increasing the amount of money available from voluntary contributions. A further provision that, if necessary, this should be done by a sum of money shared by Member states in the same proportion as the scale of contributions to the regular United Nations budget was deleted from the final resolution. The United States representative stated that his Government would endeavor to have it re-introduced in the General Assembly.

The draft resolution placed before the Council was sponsored by Brazil, France, India, Iran, and the United States, and was based in large part on the recommendations of the Social Commission. The final resolution was adopted by a vote of 9 to 0, with 5 abstentions. The abstaining representatives believed that UNICEF should be continued as a temporary organization with greater emphasis on emergency relief than in the above provisions, and they questioned the wisdom of constitutional changes.

CHILD HEALTH FILMS

In order to encourage the fullest possible use and exchange of films which may be helpful in promoting child and maternal health, WHO and UNESCO have collaborated on the preparation of a comprehensive catalogue of films on child health.

Headed "An International Index of Films and Filmstrips on Health and Welfare of Children," the catalogue is said to contain some 1,000 titles from twenty-six different countries. It includes films made for the general public, health education shorts for children themselves, and medical and other technical films for professional personnel. For each film, information is included concerning the content, length, and approximate date of production, as well as the full address of the distribution source or producer.

All films are listed in the catalogue under their countries of origin and indexed by subject classifications. The subject index includes sections on growth and development, nursery schools, child psychology, diseases and their control, education, holidays, safety, maladjusted children, welfare, nursing, medical and scientific subjects, nutrition, and public health.

The films have not been evaluated by either UNESCO or WHO, but it is hoped that the information given is full enough to indicate the relative value and usefulness of the various films. This information was secured through correspondence with States Members of UNESCO and WHO, and from reliable catalogues of educational and medical films. The book is intended to provide health workers of all kinds with a general view of the nature and whereabouts of existing film material which may be helpful in their work. It will provide the necessary preliminary information for the selection and purchase of films for specific uses in various countries.

Although the majority of the films are reported to be from the U.S.A. and Great Britain, there is said to be a wide representation of European films from Poland, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, and France, while some are also included from India. A number of other countries stated that they had no films as yet but were instituting film services and would give high priority to the production of films relating to child health. It is therefore probable that by next year a number of countries, especially in the eastern Mediterranean area, southeastern Asia, and Latin America, will have entered into the production of films and filmstrips in this field. Almost every country reports a rapidly increasing use in many different ways of films for health education. Particularly notable is the increase in the use of 16-mm. mobile projection units to reach audiences in villages and towns which have formerly had little opportunity to see films of any kind.

HEALTH PLANS OF WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION FOR UNDER-DEVELOPED AREAS

The development of backward areas, which is correctly said to be one of the world's major problems, was the important subject of discussion when the last World Health Assembly met in Geneva.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie, who inaugurated the Health Assembly immediately before visiting the Soviet Union, spoke as follows:

The supreme challenge of the second half of the twentieth century, and especially of the next twenty years, is not expressed in the ideological and power conflicts that monopolize the headlines today. The supreme challenge is presented by the great majority of the population of the world—over sixteen hundred millions—whose poverty, hunger and insecurity must be substantially remedied if they are not to result in new and disastrous upheavals. Most of these people live in the so-called under-developed areas of the world, mainly in Asia and Africa. They are moving rapidly toward political equality. They will no longer accept the grinding poverty that has been their fate for centuries.

"Bold and creative action on a world-wide scale is required," Mr. Lie said as he called on international agencies and on governments to contribute "brain-power and money-power" to this important work.

There was support offered for the creation of a program to bring satisfactory standards of health to the huge territories where "poor hygiene, bad housing, misery and ignorance are powerful enemies."

WHO approved a four-year plan which provided for participation in the United Nations Program of Technical Assistance and for a continuing decentralization of WHO's activities and which was aimed particularly at developing and strengthening national health services.

The highest priorities in this field were again granted to malaria, tuberculosis, and venereal disease, the three greatest public health enemies throughout the world. Priority campaigns had already been approved by earlier Assemblies against these diseases, and the Third World

Health conference maintained this classification. However, in line with the new direction given to international health work, the list was enlarged to include the so-called "pestilential diseases," and especially plague, cholera and smallpox. Special provision was also made under this scheme for fighting such widespread infections as trachoma. . . . Control of these diseases was made a part of the regular program of the World Health Organization, which, it was also decided, would henceforth include activities directed against leprosy, typhus fever and relapsing fever.

This new orientation of the WHO program of disease control is said to be a logical result of the dissolution of the Office International d'Hygiène Publique, which had functioned in Paris since 1907.

It held the unique distinction of being the first world-wide inter-governmental body ever established to prevent the spread of pestilential diseases, and in transferring its assets and its work to the World Health Organization at the time of the Health Assembly, it gave its successor the means and the opportunity to carry out its chief activity.

A further measure to consolidate this position was taken as the Assembly adopted the principle that international programs for children should be the responsibility of permanent Specialized Agencies, and that the United Nations special machinery in this field should be limited to fund-raising, planning and supplies. This decision concerns in particular the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund which, after carrying out relief work in the immediate postwar period, has initiated several health programs for children under the technical guidance of WHO. Pending a final decision by the United Nations, the Assembly resolved that no action should be taken to curtail the activities of UNICEF started or to be started in 1950.

A significant feature of WHO's program is said to be the decentralization of its work.

The Health Assembly expressed considerable satisfaction with the activities carried out at the regional level by the three Regional Organizations of WHO in South-East Asia, in the Eastern Mediterranean, and in the Americas, as well as by the special office for Europe.

To complete the network of increasingly autonomous branch-offices of WHO, the Third

World Health Assembly decided to establish a Regional Organization in the Western Pacific area, and to create a Temporary Special Office at Headquarters [to] deal with the health problems of Africa until a Regional Organization can be set up for this continent.

The regional offices of WHO are not only concerned with campaigns against the various communicable diseases prevalent in their areas, but a substantial part of their activity is devoted to the improvement of health, which is defined in the WHO constitution as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." This has given new impetus to a series of programs designed to foster "positive health" in the fields of sanitation, maternal and child health, nutrition, and mental health, as well as nursing and health education of the public. Such activities should be part of any efficient health administration, and a program has been designed "to help each country develop its public health services to include specialized departments and well-trained staff to apply new techniques."

The ultimate test of efficiency and usefulness for an international organization is the support it derives from its member states. "Certain traditional services" now operated by WHO are said to have long been considered essential and to have always had the wholehearted support of all governments. "The first is the preparation of International Sanitary Regulations, now well advanced, and which next year will be submitted to the Fourth World Health Assembly. In a simplified form, they will take the place of the present unsatisfactory Conventions and will help to make international trade and travel by land, sea and air both easier and more secure." The Third World Health Assembly convened a special committee, consisting of representatives of all member states, to consider the Draft International Sanitary Regulations prepared by the WHO experts. The next Health Assembly is scheduled for May, 1951, in Geneva.

The WHO program of health statistics

also seemed important to the Health Assembly. Valuable information, it was believed, could be gathered from adequate statistics indicating the prevalence and spread of disease, and "such information is indispensable in planning specific campaigns." The WHO program is expected to assist the various governments in creating or in improving their statistical bureaus and should collect and interpret these statistics on a world-wide basis.

While the Third World Health Assembly was in session, construction gangs were at work on a new building in Geneva which will enlarge the old Palais des Nations and which should allow WHO to establish its permanent headquarters in Geneva.

In the closing session, Iran's chief delegate expressed a general feeling as he quoted the words of Persia's great poet Saadi, who said more than seven hundred years ago: "Humanity all over the world has the same origin, and forms the parts and members of the same body. If you have pain in any section of your body, the whole of it craves with aches and ailings. How can we be called human if we do not care about the illness and suffering of our fellow creatures?"

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH

A new name has been adopted for the three well-known organizations in the field of mental health—the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, which owes its beginning in 1909 to Clifford Whittingham Beers and his book, *A Mind That Found Itself*; the National Mental Health Foundation, which has worked to improve the care of patients in the state hospitals; and the Psychiatric Foundation, organized in 1946, which has inspected and rated mental hospitals, stimulated psychiatric research, expanded training facilities in psychiatry and allied fields, and promoted education.

The *New York Times* said recently: "It has long been manifest that the activities of these three organizations overlap and that much was to be gained by consolidating them. Such a consolidation was made pos-

sible by a bill passed at the last session of the State Legislature and signed by the Governor." Thus the National Association for Mental Hygiene has come into being, with Dr. George S. Stevenson as its medical director. "With the consolidation of three organizations that served the country well, we now have one which should be held in as high regard as are the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Heart Association and the American Cancer Society. Such is the scope of mental hygiene that we need a national organization which will do for the mind what the public health movement does for the body. The new Association is sure of the country's support at the outset of its career."

GIFTS TO PRIVATE WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

Gifts by corporations to charitable and educational institutions in 1950 will equal the record donations of last year, the National Industrial Conference Board said in a report based on a survey made of 201 manufacturing concerns.

The report said that no significant shift in the allocation of these funds is anticipated, but, because of the growing number of charities, more and more companies favor some pooled or federated giving to reduce the burden of considering many independent gifts.

Half the companies plan to give as much to charities this year as last. One-fourth, we are told, will cut down on their donations, but the remaining fourth expect to give more than they did in 1949. The report said that reductions in donations are largely in cases where company earnings have declined. Among national organizations the Red Cross is said to be the largest recipient of corporate gifts.

THE PENITENTIARY CONGRESS OF 1950

The twelfth International Penal and Penitentiary Congress met last August at The Hague. There were reports on penal practice from various countries, and impor-

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tant resolutions were passed on different aspects of penal reform. There was general agreement that a presentence report is highly desirable. The report should cover not merely the circumstances of the crime but also factors in the constitution, personality, and background of the offender. The scope of the report should furnish the judge with enough information to make possible a selection among alternative sentences.

The *Manchester Guardian* report was that the discussion revealed a sharp difference between Anglo-American and Continental practice. "The traditional principle of British and American law, that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty, makes any compulsory investigation into his personality and background impossible before conviction. The Continental practice is to use such a report in preparing the indictment for the Court and even a man's previous criminal record is placed before the judge and jury as they consider their verdict. It proved impossible to reconcile these two points of view, and although unanimity was reached on the need for a pre-sentence examination the stage at which it should take place was left an open question."

The congress considered a resolution on juvenile delinquency from the Mental Health Congress of 1948, which held that juvenile delinquents should be dealt with by a nonjudicial body and not by the courts. "This was based upon the practice in Scandinavian countries where young people are dealt with by non-judicial bodies known as 'councils of protection for youth.'" However, the congress did not accept such a proposal, but it formulated resolutions of its own. It is suggested that the handling of juvenile delinquents should be

entrusted to an authority composed of people who are experts in legal, medical, and educational matters. Where this is not possible the authority should seek the advice of experts in medico-educational matters before pronouncing judgment.

A difficult question did, however, arise in the curative treatment of juvenile delinquency. The law guarantees the human rights of the children

and their parents, and the question to be faced is how far certain forms of treatment interfere with these rights. There is, for example, a possible threat to the personal liberty of parent and child by internment for curative treatment as well as by imprisonment. Co-ordination was felt to be necessary between judicial and administrative authorities and the experts in human behaviour who would be involved. The congress did not feel that it had enough data to make a judgment and remitted the question to the International Penal Commission for special study.

There was much criticism from all quarters on the indiscriminate use of the short-term sentence by many magistrates. Evidence was presented showing the very serious consequences of many such sentences. It was agreed that as a general rule sentences of less than a year were not desirable. Alternatives to the short sentence were to be found in probation and conditional sentences, and in fines and judicial reprimand. It was suggested that fines should be adjusted to the financial status of the defendant and that payment by instalments should be allowed.

It was reported that many countries had made experiments with "open" prisons in which a large measure of trust is placed in the prisoner. The evidence suggested that in all cases they had proved successful and their extension was recommended amongst selected prisoners.

The congress, which included representatives of the Governments of 38 countries, also passed resolutions on the subject of psychiatric science in the treatment of the criminal, the treatment of habitual offenders, and the classification and labour of prisoners.

NEW YORK'S SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

Assemblyman Harold C. Ostertag, who is known for his long-time concern for better public welfare organization, took advantage of the declining public welfare case loads to urge that this period be used for careful consideration of the public welfare system and particularly its fiscal and administrative aspects. In a statement issued in conjunction with publication of the Special Committee's 1950 Report to the Legislature, Assemblyman Ostertag said:

The broad scope of our public welfare programs, and the tremendous sums of money going

into them make it imperative that they be scrutinized carefully and without prejudice, to insure that requirements of those in need are met promptly and constructively. In periods of sharply rising caseloads, vitally important adjustments in the public welfare system may be difficult to make because the process would involve piling even heavier burdens on administrative staffs. With the need for public aid easing off, however, we now have the opportunity to examine our public welfare structure in the light of our postwar experience to determine what adjustments and improvements can be made.

The publication of the *Report of the Special Committee on Social Welfare*,¹ which is an interim document, cites a number of administrative areas in which improvement is desirable. Whether one's final conclusion agrees with the New York Committee or not, their *Report* deserves careful consideration. The areas suggested as calling for improvement are said to include in particular the need for better definition of responsibility among the governmental agencies concerned with public welfare, with greater responsibility resting in the localities. This New York view of the importance of the local unit is, of course, one on which there is disagreement among public authorities. The *Report* properly says that public welfare can develop in the direction of a wholly state-administered program, or it can develop as a locally administered program, with the state assuming a supervisory role in clearly determined areas. The present trend is in the direction of a state-administered program, according to the *Report*, which says that the state "cannot assume solely an advisory role at present, in part because of its heavy fiscal responsibility, and in some measure because local government does not always take with sufficient seriousness its own responsibility. The state and federal governments have no mysterious capacity for administration which local units may not possess if they are so minded."

¹ *New York Report of the Special Committee on Social Welfare of the Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation* (Legislative Document, No. 54, Albany, 1950). Pp. 128.

"Welfare standards" are said to be the "basic tool" for determining whether a person applying for help is in need. And to illustrate the need for careful consideration of standards, in so far as costs go, the *Report* points out that the addition of a single egg per week to the diet of those receiving public assistance in the state in November, 1948, would have increased public welfare costs for the year by \$1,298,000.

The *Report* notes that welfare standards now used in the state in determining need and making adequate provision for it vary from community to community. "Some existing standards, such as for food," according to the *Report*, "are based upon calculations of what people ought to spend, and for what commodities. A check is then provided the needy individual, who spends it as he sees fit. Insufficient advice appears to be available to those who have difficulty living on welfare grants, or for those who would be interested in bettering their methods of management."

The *Report* emphasizes the need for a coordinated program of rehabilitation oriented toward restoration of the dependent to self-reliance. It predicts that, unless a full-scale effort is made to rehabilitate a maximum number of those who are dependent, the situation may become difficult.

The present New York State reimbursement formula for public assistance sets the local share of costs at 20 per cent. According to the *Report*, this formula has "helped to stabilize local finances, but has not proved wholly satisfactory as a welfare measure. Evidence indicates that it appears to have relaxed local concern over rising welfare costs in some areas, and has tended to 'skew' local disbursements to take advantage of reimbursed categories rather than to provide for care on the basis of the kind of help that is needed." But how satisfactory will any other plan be? An alternative formula is suggested, which would relate the local share of welfare costs to the community's ability to meet them and which would, in addition, provide state aid for use in all public welfare programs rather than, as now, limiting aid

to the four categories known as public assistance—home relief, old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind.

On this point Assemblyman Ostertag said that a series of alternative formulas have been considered by the committee's staff, for legislative consideration next year, their objective in general being to return greater administrative leeway, discretion, and responsibility to the localities.

The studies of the Special Committee on Social Welfare which are still being continued through the current year should result in a final report, and there will be widespread interest in the recommendations to be submitted to the 1951 session of the legislature.

INCREASED BENEFITS FOR AMERICAN CHILDREN

Large numbers of children will be benefited by the substantial increases in grants to the states now possible under Title V of the Social Security Act. That is, Congress is now authorized to increase the annual grants for maternal and child health services from \$11 to \$16.5 million: for services for crippled children from \$7.5 million to \$15 million; and for child welfare services from \$3.5 to \$10 million; that is, the amount that will be available for these important services to children has been nearly doubled by being increased from \$22 million to \$41.5 million.

In all three programs state agencies must present plans for spending federal grants that meet the requirements of the Social Security Act and assure good quality of service. This plan must be approved by the federal Children's Bureau. At the end of each year state agencies must report how they spent the money.

To take full advantage of the \$16.5 million of maternal and child health funds and of the \$15 million of crippled children's funds, states must match half the federal grants, dollar for dollar. To take advantage of the child welfare funds, each state must assume some of the cost of services in local areas, although no fixed amount of federal funds must be matched.

Miss Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, which administers these grants, has said of the new appropriations authorized:

When increased funds become available, on the basis of preliminary information, the States plan to start or extend existing programs, among others, for children with rheumatic fever, epilepsy, cerebral palsy, hearing handicaps, and for saving premature babies.

With increased grants, State child welfare agencies hope to provide better shelter care for children in emergency situations; better service for babies available for adoption, and more services to help banish the "black market" in babies; improved services for unmarried mothers; protection for runaway children; more extensive homemaker services; and good foster family care for children now held in jails while they await court action.

Due to rising costs and inadequate funds, State health and welfare agencies have been forced this year to curtail some of their established programs of service. Larger grants are expected to help these agencies re-open doors they have had to close to children.

States will be planning expansion of their programs in close cooperation with private agencies and citizen groups in the child health and welfare fields.

To qualify for Federal aid, States must put up money of their own. Each State's share in the total for each program is worked out by various formulae, all of them intended to strengthen the development of services for rural children.

Miss Lenroot said of the future opportunities for service:

The 1950 amendments reaffirm the basic principle in the original 1935 Social Security Act which was that "The heart of any program for social security must be the child. All parts of the Social Security Act are in a very real sense measures for the security of children." The Act recognized that many children need the help of doctors, nurses, social workers, and other skilled persons, as well as family economic security, if they are to have the chance to grow as happy, healthy individuals.

Title V of the Social Security Act also is based on the sound democratic principle that the best way to develop children's services is to move ahead when and where people are ready to go, and not to impose a single pattern on the Nation.

Each State develops its own plan for using Federal grants, taking into account all available resources whether under private or public auspices. As a result no two State plans are alike. For this reason, it is impossible to predict exactly which children and how many of them will benefit from the increased grants under the 1950 amendments. The fact that there will be many thousands who will be helped is seen clearly from the reports from the States for the year 1949, when much smaller Federal grants were available.

During the year, with the help of Federal funds, more than 200,000 crippled children were reached by professional services of doctors, nurses, medical social workers, physical therapists, or other workers providing important professional services. Over 231,000 neglected, dependent, or delinquent children received social services from child welfare workers in public agencies, including workers paid from Federal funds and those paid entirely by State and local funds.

Under federally aided maternal and child health services, over 683,000 infants and pre-school children attended well-child clinics; doctors completed 2,246,000 examinations of school children; over 1,500,000 children were immunized against smallpox and diphtheria; and some 168,000 expectant mothers attended prenatal clinics.

Miss Lenroot said further:

Never was it more important than at the present time to give every child the chance to grow as a healthy and socially responsible human being. The world that we are passing on to the next generation is a more complicated and difficult world than any previous generation has had to face. Our children deserve the best we can give them to increase their physical, emotional, and social wellbeing and develop their greatest individual potentialities.

Welcome as the extra \$19.5 million will be, none of us can blind himself to the fact that there will still be many children in need of health and welfare services who cannot be reached even by expanded State and local services. We need constantly to assess the extent to which children are reached by the services they need, and what is needed to make good . . . our obligations to them.

HOPE FOR THE REFUGEES

Although the International Refugee Organization was originally scheduled to bring

its resettlement activities to an end by June 30, 1950—a date postponed to March 31, 1950—various factors, including the long delay in passing our revised D.P. law, has made a further postponement of the final liquidation until IRO has, in the words of its director, J. Donald Kingsley, “completed its task, exhausted its funds, or both.” The *New York Times* has said editorially:

This decision should carry I.R.O. through for another year, as it still has upward of 200,000 refugees on its hands, and had (as of June, 1950) some \$93,000,000 with which to move them. No new funds will be asked of the participating Governments.

As I.R.O. enters what will undoubtedly be its last year of existence in its present form, Mr. Kingsley is justified in noting with pride that the organization, supported by only eighteen Governments, will have succeeded in “housing, feeding, clothing [and providing] medical care and rehabilitation, educational and vocational training, legal protection and movement to new-found homes overseas for a population of more than a million persons.” After the conclusion of its present task, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the machinery of I.R.O. may be reconstituted in permanent form as a sort of intergovernmental bureau to expedite large-scale immigration and emigration. Given the population problems that beset the world, it will probably be needed for a long time to come.

The *Times* says very properly that a note of hope and encouragement finally has come from the IRO in Geneva, and it is not unduly optimistic to say that “an end to the problem which I.R.O. was established to solve is hovering in sight. There will still remain refugees—particularly the several million Germans thrown out of their former homelands in Eastern Europe—but from a political and practical (if not from a humanitarian) point of view” they are not in the same category as “the wartime D.P.’s and the post-war religious and ideological refugees who have come under I.R.O. protection.”

OUR INDIAN SUMMER

Having had a particularly pleasant “Indian summer” just as we were going to press, the editor takes the liberty of explaining

that the London *Times* believes that the term "Indian summer" is an Americanism which is "almost meaningless to those who are unaware of its origin. The term seems to have originated when the early settlers in New England thought that when snow fell in early autumn during their first year that winter had set in and prepared accordingly, but friendly Indians shook their heads, pointed to the west," and explained that "summer will come again before the winter." The prediction proved correct, for sunshine came again in October and November, and thereafter the settlers found they could generally rely upon "the Indians' summer" before winter came to stay.

NEW WELFARE PAMPHLETS AND REPORTS

The *Review* office has received some interesting pamphlets, reports, and briefer books that we have not had space to review. We are, however, glad to list some of them here for the benefit of our readers. *Family Counseling—Practice and Teaching* is being distributed by the Family Service Society of America, New York (pp. 48; \$1.00). The pamphlet contains the papers presented last spring at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Jewish Family Service of New York, including "Administration for Service in Families," by Frances Taussig (to whom the pamphlet is dedicated); "Principles and Practices in Counseling," by M. Robert Gomberg; and "Principles and Practices in Supervision," by Frances T. Levinson. *A Handbook of Cooperative Practice between Agencies with Statements of Agency Services, Functions and Policies* aims to clarify responsibilities; to facilitate good interagency working relationships; to furnish guidance in making proper referrals; to help orient students and new workers (Family and Child Welfare Council, Council of Social Agencies, Kansas City, Mo., 1949; pp. 58).

Maternity Service under the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, by George Baehr, M.D., chairman, board of directors, and Neva R. Deardorff, Ph.D., director of research and statistics, Health Insurance

Plan of Greater New York, is a paper presented at the International and Fourth American Congress on Obstetrics and Gynecology, New York, May 17, 1950 (New York: H.I.P., 1950; pp. 22).

The Quality of Medical Care in a National Health Program, prepared by the Subcommittee on Medical Care of the American Public Health Association, is made available by the subcommittee in the belief that "particular emphasis needs to be placed on factors affecting the quality of care in order to insure sound planning for health services" (American Public Health Association, 1780 Broadway, New York; \$0.10).

Medical Mission to Poland is an informal report on rehabilitation of the disabled, by Howard A. Rusk, M.D. (Polish Research and Information Service, 250 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York 19; pp. 16).

Strategy of the American Social Hygiene Association as Illustrated by Activities in 1949 is the Association's annual report for 1949 about helping the nation move toward the goal of "a people healthy, normal, well-balanced—fit to build successful families, homes, communities—as foundation-stones of strength and progress" (The Association, 1790 Broadway, New York 19; pp. 16).

The Administration of Alcoholism Rehabilitation Programs, by Selden D. Bacon, Yale University, chairman of the Connecticut Commission on Alcoholism, 1949; distributed by the Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Yale Station, New Haven (pp. 47; \$0.50), deals with the background of the problem; the policy of prevention; outpatient clinic; convalescent service; hospital service; and other subjects, including the educating of the ever widening general public in the nature of alcoholism and the possibilities of rehabilitation and prevention.

A Christian Report on Israel: A Composite Account by the Members of the American Christian Palestine Committee Study Tour of Israel, May, 1949 (American Christian Palestine Committee, 41 East Forty-second Street, New York; pp. 32).

Religious Perspectives of College Teaching in Economics, by Kenneth E. Boulding, pro-

fessor of economics, University of Michigan (New Haven, Conn.: Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 1950; pp. 24), is one of a series of pamphlets instituted by the Hazen Foundation. "The aid of distinguished scholars deeply interested in the relation between religion and higher education" has been enlisted, each of these scholars discussing the problem in its specific relation to his own field of learning, to the institutions which he serves, and to society in general, addressing himself primarily to fellow-teachers in his field, secondarily to students and to interested members of the educated public." *Concerning Religious Values: A Psychiatrist's Viewpoint*, by Sol W. Ginsburg, M.D. (Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 West Sixty-eighth Street, New York, 1949; pp. 21; \$0.50).

Handbook of Democracy: A Guide to Democratic Ideology and Action contains three chapters—"The Ultimate Faith," "The Four Campaigns and Their Present Status," and "The War of Ideas" (New York: William Frederick Press, 1950; pp. 86; \$1.25).

Looking Ahead to Marriage, by Professor Clifford R. Adams, in charge of marriage counseling, School of Education in Pennsylvania State College (1949; pp. 48; \$0.60), and *You and Your Health*, by J. Roswell Gallagher, M.D., school physician, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts (1950; pp. 48; \$0.60), are "Life Adjustment Booklets" (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc.). The "Life Adjustment Series" lists twenty-three titles of interest to teen-agers, parents, and those in the guidance field.

Clubs for the Golden Age: A Study of Recreational Activities for Ohio's Older Citizens, conducted by the Ohio Citizens' Council for Health and Welfare in co-operation with the Division of Mental Hygiene of the Ohio Department of Public Welfare, under the direction of Manfred Lilliefors and assisted by funds received under the National Mental Health Act (135 East Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio; pp. 64; \$1.00).

A Selective Bibliography on the Welfare of Older People is edited by Marion S. Hal-

sey, Welfare Council of New York, in collaboration with the Committee on Social Work Education for Conference Group on Welfare of the Aged. This bibliography, listing over four hundred items as of July 1, 1949, is designed for those "concerned with social welfare services to older people, including students in schools of social work, practicing caseworkers in family agencies, staffs and boards of institutions caring for aged persons, as well as workers and volunteers in other community programs" (New York: Welfare Council, 1949; pp. ix + 46; \$1.00).

Classified Bibliography for Social Workers, made available by the Board of Public Library Trustees, Somerville, Massachusetts, and listing "approximately fifteen hundred publications in the Somerville Public Library," is a reference pamphlet for social workers and for students of social work; it is also planned for wide circulation among all classes of citizens concerned with social work (pp. iv + 54).

Effective Use of Social Science Research in the Federal Services (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1950; pp. 47; \$0.50) has sections on "The Field of the Social Sciences," "Illustrative Uses of Social Science during World War II," "New Approaches to the Study of Social Behavior," and "Problems in Conducting Social Science Research in Governmental Agencies."

Child Labor Fact Book, 1900-1950, by Florence Taylor (New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1950; pp. 24; \$0.25), contains sections on child labor, 1900-1910; federal legislation, 1910-20; the Child Labor Amendment, 1920-30; the depression, the Amendment, and the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1930-40; war and postwar employment and legislation, 1940-50; and "What of the Future for Young Workers?" The pamphlet provides the main facts about child labor—both historical and current—in concise form, with references.

The Division of Child Labor and Youth Employment of the Bureau of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor, has issued its final report of the Louisville study, en-

titled *Hunting a Career: A Study of Out-of-School Youth in Louisville, Kentucky*, which will be of interest to social workers as well as educators and to those working on child labor and youth employment problems (U.S. Bureau of Labor Standards Bull. No. 115; pp. ix + 117; free copies from Director of Bureau, Washington, D.C.).

Teacher Listen—The Children Speak . . ., "but not only with words of the tongue or words on paper. Children also talk with their bodies, with all their behavior, through everything they do." A pamphlet by Professor James L. Hymes, George Peabody College, prepared for the New York Committee on Mental Health. The author knows the limitations under which teachers must do their work, and he does not expect them to be classroom psychiatrists but offers positive suggestions for coping with "behavior problems" (Committee on Mental Hygiene, State Charities Aid Association, New York; pp. 44; single copies, \$0.25 each).

Statistics of Special Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children 1947-48 (chap. v of *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1946-48*). Prepared by Elise H. Martens, chief, Exceptional Children and Youth. Statistical tables prepared by Catherine Harris under the direction of Robert C. Story, Research and Statistical Services, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950; pp. iv + 82; \$0.25). *School in the Hospital*, by Romaine P. Mackie, specialist for schools for the physically handicapped, and Margaret Fitzgerald, principal teacher in charge of Education of Patients, Grasslands Hospital, Valhalla, New York, is a bulletin of the Office of Education, Federal Security Agency (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949; pp. vi + 54; \$0.20).

Bibliography on the Psychology of the Handicapped: A Selection of Titles in the Library of the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults is compiled and distributed by the Library of the National Society (11 South La Salle Street, Chicago; June, 1950; pp. 57). This bibliography is

supplemented by the National Society's *Bulletin on Current Literature*, a monthly bibliography for workers with the handicapped (subscription price, \$1.00 a year).

State Legislation Affecting School Revenues, 1944-1948 (National Education Association Research Bulletin, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, October, 1949; published by the Research Division of the National Education Association, Washington, D.C.; pp. 75-123; \$0.50).

Wieboldt Foundation, Annual Report for 1949. The president of the Foundation reports that "in many ways 1949 was one of the most interesting . . . years in the history of the Foundation. The study and review of Philanthropic Policies and Procedures" led to a major policy revision. Three special grants are reviewed: the Community Project for the Aged, the Community Vocational Counseling Service, and the Chicago Community Inventory (Chicago, Illinois; pp. 25). *The Menninger Foundation Eighth Annual Report, 1948-1949* emphasizes an important decision of the trustees that "more attention must be given to obtaining financial support for children's services and for the education and research programs with which the Foundation is fulfilling the leadership psychiatry and the nation expect from it" (Topeka, Kan., 1950; pp. 63). *Russell Sage Foundation Annual Report 1948-1949* notes that the last year was one of transition and change for the Foundation,¹ with current activities including the social sciences and education for the professions; counseling service for collegiate schools of nursing; child guidance and the social sciences; child group care; selection for parole; trends in giving; and publications (New York, 1949; pp. 37). *The Commonwealth Fund Thirty-first Annual Report* (New York, December, 1949; pp. 41) has sections on medical education; experimental health services, public health, and hospital activities; medical research; and fellowships in medicine and allied fields. *The Rockefeller Foundation: A Review for 1949*, by Chester I. Barnard,

¹ See this *Review*, XXIII, 247-48 and 398-99.

president of the Foundation (49 West Forty-ninth Street, New York, 1950; pp. 85), lists among its "Highlights of the Year" sections on "European Recovery," "The Humanities in Europe," "Radio and Press in Korea and Japan," "Intergroup Relations," and "Psychosociological Studies."

Fifth Annual Report of Executive Director of the Board of Directors of Youth House, 1948-49 (331 East Twelfth Street, New York; pp. 71), a "Temporary Detention Care Program, which offers a hopeful outlook for the reclamation of those given to delinquent behavior."

Historical Sketch of Niagara County Welfare Department, Lockport, New York, 1828-1950, is a pamphlet of fourteen pages on the development of the Niagara County department.

The Child-Family Digest, a monthly, non-profit journal for all interested in children and family relationships, its first issue appearing in June, 1949, condenses or reprints for general reading selected articles from both popular publications and such scientific journals as the *Psychiatric Quarterly* and the *Nervous Child*. Dr. James Clark Moloney and Dr. Ernest Harms are among those on the board of advisory editors (published at New Orleans 15, La.; introductory rate, \$2.00 for six months).

A new journal from Great Britain is the *British Journal of Sociology*, which aims to provide for the publication of original research in the various fields of sociology, social psychology, and social philosophy; critical studies or discussions in the various fields of inquiry; surveys of developments and literature in specific fields; and book reviews. The new journal will co-operate with scholars in other countries and further the development of comparative studies; published quarterly for the London School of Economics by the proprietors (Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., London, E.C. 4; price, 30s. per annum, post free).

Currents, a quarterly magazine of fact and opinion on major health and welfare problems, its first issue dated fall, 1949, is the official publication of the Public Char-

ities Association of Pennsylvania (311 South Juniper Street, Philadelphia 7; yearly subscription, \$1.00), replacing *PCA Herald*.

UNITED NATIONS TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES

As we go to press, there has been released what is reported to be the first comprehensive survey of training opportunities made available by the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The survey shows that more than a thousand persons are now working on fellowships, scholarships, or some similar basis in different parts of the world.

The account of the survey in the *New York Times* suggests that the study, which took three months to complete, was released with a view to answering numerous questions from abroad as to the nature and scope of the United Nations activity in this field. A digest of reports indicated that the demand for training facilities had increased along with interest in technical assistance programs.

New educational schedules have been launched. Thus the United Nations itself this year for the first time assembled a small group of persons who aspire to become international civil servants. These men, five from South America and seven from India and Pakistan, have undertaken a two-year course with the prospect of permanent assignment to the Secretariat.

The International Labor Office is offering a new type of training program for study in the fields of employment, vocational guidance, social security, industrial relations and health. Also experimental will be the granting of special opportunities to the nominees of workers and employers organizations and governments of member states for study at Geneva.

A general program covering broad aspects of the purposes and functions of the International Monetary Fund was established this year, together with a course in the techniques of balance of payments. The first-named program provides a stipend of \$250 monthly and will begin next January, in Washington, D.C.

Out of the total number of students working

under the United Nations directly or otherwise more than 600 are engaged upon individual projects concerning economic development, public administration, social welfare, labor problems, education, science, public health and child care. Generally speaking those being trained in technical fields have been enabled to spend several months in countries offering advanced methods applicable at home.

United Nations' awards, for instance, have made it possible for schoolteachers from lands long isolated by war to observe first hand the progress made in the United States. A doctor from Southeast Asia worked in malaria control in a country that had conquered the disease. Economists and child health people from backward regions have studied fruitfully in the most cultivated countries on earth.

Candidates are usually nominated by governmental agencies. However, a few of the programs do provide for personal application or entry in a competition.

A summary of the opportunities opened under the auspices of the United Nations follows:

United Nations, 315 fellowships and scholarships in addition to internships and the training program; International Labor Office, fifteen fellowships in addition to fifteen for special studies; Food and Agriculture Organization, sixty in nutrition training course; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, fifty fellowships financed by the agency plus a varying number supported by member states; International Civil Aviation Organization, six in training at the Montreal headquarters; World Health Organization, 230 individual fellowships in health fields and several group training programs; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, eight training in the bank's operations; International Monetary Fund, twenty in special programs; and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, fifty-five students to be nominated by countries received aid in addition to fifty in special courses.

NOTES FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

The sessions of the Fifth International Congress of Schools of Social Work, July 28-30, immediately followed the International Conference of Social Work, which met in Paris last July. Attendance was restricted

to persons directly connected with social work education in their own countries, and about two hundred delegates from more than twenty countries are reported to have taken part in the proceedings. All geographical regions (except eastern Europe) were represented. Statistics indicate that in 1937 there were 171 professional schools of social work, and there are said to be 372 schools in 46 countries today.

The opening address, "New Goals for Social Work Education," was given by Mrs. Katherine Kendall, of Chicago, who has clearly stated some of the basic issues facing the schools of Continental Europe and South America. Apparently the Kendall paper was responsible for prolonged discussion. There were sharp differences expressed at the Paris meeting as to the desirability of offering social work studies within the framework of European universities; but, at the same time, there was recognition of the importance of raising the educational level of social work training on the Continent. The English-speaking countries were strongly in favor of the position Mrs. Kendall put forward, and she was supported by the non-university schools in Finland, Germany, Italy, Egypt, and South America. The schools in Belgium, France, Switzerland, Sweden, and, to a lesser degree, in the Netherlands formed the opposition, although many of the members of the delegations of those countries were strongly in favor of university-level training for social work. Mrs. Kendall's United Nations report *Training for Social Work: An International Survey*, together with an abstract of the report, had been distributed in advance to the delegates; and this helped to lead the discussion to the present situation throughout the world with respect to the different methods of providing social work education.

The second paper, given in the afternoon of the first session by Dr. de Jongh, director of the Amsterdam School of Social Work, dealt with case-work teaching and practice. Dr. de Jongh, who recently spent six months in the United States on a United Nations Fellowship to observe our methods of social

work education, analyzed the difference between social work practice in this country and in Europe. He strongly urged the European schools to introduce case-work courses into their curriculums and to provide special instruction for the field-work supervisors who would be responsible for translating case-work theory into practice. For the discussion which followed there was general agreement as to the necessity for serious study of American case-work methods with a view to adapting them to the European situation. The discussion showed clearly, however, that, in the absence of qualified case-work teachers and adequate case material, progress toward introducing case-work courses into the curriculums of the European schools would be very slow.

The second day was given to four informative papers: (1) "The Basic Sciences in Training for Social Work," by Miss Elinor I. Black, director, School of Social Studies, University of Sheffield; (2) "Biology in Training for Social Work," by Professor Gino Bergami, president, Italian Committee of Social Work; (3) "Psychology in Training for Social Work," by Dr. Lucien Bovet, director of the Child Guidance Service, Lausanne; (4) "Social Sciences in Training for Social Work," by Professor Gunnar Heckscher, director of the Social Institute, Stockholm.

The third and final session was devoted to election of officers and to a general business meeting. The old officers were re-elected, including Hon. President, Mme Marie Mulle, Brussels (Belgium); President, Dr. René Sand, professor of social medicine, Institut de Médecine sociale, Brussels (Belgium); Vice-Presidents: Mlle I. Crémer, director, École pratique de service social, Paris (France); Professor John C. Kidney, director, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota; Secretary, Dr. M. J. A. Moltzer, 58, Ign. Bispincklaan, Bloemendaal (Netherlands); Treasurer, Mlle Aimée Racine, director, Institut d'Études sociales de l'Etat, Brussels (Belgium). The Sixth International Congress of Schools will follow the International Conference of Social Work

to be held in Madras late in 1952, and it was decided to hold a preparatory congress in Stockholm in July, 1952, since the attendance at Madras is not expected to be large. Publication of the proceedings in English and in French was authorized.

Margaret Johnson, who has been promoted from acting dean to dean of the Western Reserve School of Applied Social Sciences, announces the following appointments: associate professor, Werner Lutz, M.S., New York School of Social Work, formerly lecturer at the New York School and associate district secretary, Community Service Society, New York; four new assistant professors: Margaret E. Hartford, M.S., University of Pittsburgh School of Social Work; Margaret I. Jacob, M.Sc., School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, formerly assistant professor in the Division of Social Work, Indiana University; Josleen Lockhart, M. S., New York School of Social Work, a psychiatric social worker in the Educational Clinic of the Brooklyn College Department of Education; and Florence J. Levy, a graduate of Hunter College, who received her M.S.W. from Washington University School of Social Work, St. Louis, and who has been a psychiatric social worker.

The School of Social Work of the University of Toronto announces a number of faculty changes as follows: Miss Reba Choate, recently professor of public welfare administration at the Nashville School of Social Work, has joined the faculty as associate professor and director of field work. Miss Choate (A.M., School of Social Service, University of Chicago) was state director of public assistance of the Missouri State Social Security Commission. Since 1942 she has been with the Nashville School.

Mrs. Lecie Machell is a new assistant professor in the Toronto School to teach case-work courses in place of Miss Emily Hatch, who resigned to become assistant professor of social work at Tulane University. Mrs. Machell has a Master's degree

from Washington University, St. Louis. Dr. John V. Machell also joins the Toronto faculty and will fill a new position as research associate and lecturer in charge of a special study of socioeconomic aspects of mental health, which is to be undertaken by the school as part of its mental health program and supported by grants from national mental health funds.

The retirement of Professor Eduard C. Lindeman from the New York School of Social Work will remind many old friends and students of his long interest in, and close connection with, social work. After twenty-six years of teaching graduate students at the New York School, he will teach undergraduates next year. He said that he would like to reach students before they were "so driven" with the need to get jobs that they were more concerned with technique than philosophy. "I want to get away from this job nervousness," he put it.

The School of Social Work of Tulane University has announced the appointment of Gladys Ryland, M.Ed., as associate professor of group work. She was previously a member of the faculty of the Pittsburgh School of Social Work and co-author with Gertrude Wilson of *Social Group Work Practice*. Tulane also has appointed two new assistant professors of psychiatric social work: Emily Hatch, M.S., who is a graduate of the Simmons College School of Social Work and came to Tulane from the University of Toronto School of Social-Work, where she has served as social work and field-work consultant; and Edith Schulhofer, LL.D., M.S., who was formerly with the Jewish Board of Guardians (New York) and field-work supervisor at the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work, Versailles, France.

The School of Social Welfare of the University of California at Berkeley has appointed Kermit Wiltse, M.A., University of Chicago, as assistant professor to teach child welfare and social case-work courses.

The curriculum in psychiatric social work of the School of Social Welfare of Louisiana State University, initiated in September, 1949, has been approved by the American

Association of Psychiatric Social Workers. This curriculum is provided by the School of Social Welfare in co-operation with the National Institution of Mental Health, the Louisiana State Hospital Board, and the Department of Neuropsychiatry of the School of Medicine of Louisiana State University, the latter being located on the grounds of the Charity Hospital of New Orleans, Louisiana. Miss Mittie Gruber, who was a member of the faculty of the School of Social Work of the University of Denver and a consultant on the staff of the School of Medicine of the University of Colorado, has been appointed assistant professor in charge of the School's sequence in psychiatric social work.

Two new assistant professors have been added to the faculty of the Indiana University Division of Social Service: Genevieve Weeks, A.M., University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration; and Merritt Gilman, M.S.W., Tulane University School of Social Work. Two new instructors in the Indiana School include Linda Chestnut, M.S.W., University of Pittsburgh School of Social Work, and Paul Akana, M.S., New York School of Social Work.

The University of California at Los Angeles reports that the Department of Social Welfare has been changed to the School of Social Welfare and that Professor Donald Howard, formerly chairman of the department, has been made dean. Other announcements are that Karl de Schweinitz, visiting professor, has rejoined the staff after a semester's leave of absence. Visiting associate professors include Dr. Ernest Greenwood and Mrs. Mary B. Novick in the Research Department and Mary E. Duren in the Case Work Department. Mrs. Elizabeth J. Rhoads has been appointed visiting assistant professor in the Case Work Department.

The Institute of Social Work, University of Michigan, announces plans for a specialized program of training in psychiatric case work under two new faculty members: Dorothy Schroeder of Cleveland, M.S.W., Smith College School of Social Work, who has been the assistant director of the Cleve-

land Guidance Center, assistant professor on January 1, 1951; and Mary Louise Dillon, M.S.W., Boston College School of Social Work, who has been appointed a full-time lecturer in psychiatric case work, beginning with the present semester. The graduate Institute of Social Work, now located in Detroit, is to be reorganized as a School of Social Work and will move its headquarters to Ann Arbor in the fall of 1951, although a supplementary program will continue in Detroit, and close co-operative relationships between the School and Detroit social welfare agencies will continue as in the past.

The University of Minnesota School of Social Work announces the appointment of Maurice F. Connery as assistant professor with responsibility for the psychiatric training unit at University Hospitals. Mr. Connery has completed his third year of graduate social work at the New York School of Social Work. Also responsible for teaching in the psychiatric social work area is Kenneth F. Duffin, a graduate of Western Reserve University, School of Applied Social Sciences, who has most recently been the chief psychiatric social worker of the United States Public Health Service Experimental Clinic in Phoenix, Arizona. Elizabeth Yerxa, who recently retired after twenty-five years of service to the state of Wisconsin as chief of Child Welfare Services, has been appointed to teach courses in the field of social work to undergraduates during the leave of absence of Anne Winslow, a regular faculty member. Associate Professor Gisela Konopka, of Minnesota, spent three months in Germany during the summer of 1950 under the auspices of the United States Department of State, giving training and consultation to German social work personnel concerning youth work and child guidance clinic work in the American zone of occupied Germany.

Miss Cora Kasius, editor of *Social Casework* and director of publications of the Family Service Association of America, has received a Fulbright award as lecturer in

social work and will serve on the faculty of the School of Social Work in Amsterdam during the coming academic year. She already has had considerable experience in social work in Holland, having served for a year and a half after World War II as welfare liaison officer of UNRRA for that country and for Sweden.

Six United States government scholarships for the 1951-52 academic year are being offered to qualified American social workers who wish to study in the United Kingdom, the Department of State has announced. The awards offer opportunities to combine work and study experience through formal affiliation with one of the social service agencies or institutions in Great Britain. British educators and administrators have expressed a warm interest in sharing their knowledge and experience in case work, group work, community organization, and other forms of social welfare with Americans interested in the same field.

The awards are made available through Public Law 584 (79th Congress, the Fulbright Act) and provide transportation, tuition, and full maintenance for the academic year.

Candidates must be citizens of the United States at the time of application and must have an A.B. or its equivalent. They must be professionally qualified and experienced in their fields of specialization, and preference will be given to graduates of recognized schools of social work. Younger candidates are particularly encouraged to apply for these awards. More mature social workers who are qualified may obtain grants through the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils in Washington, which handles applications for advanced research and teaching grants.

The Grace Abbott Fellowship in Public Welfare was given to Kate B. Shepherd for the academic year 1950-51. The Fellowship of \$1,400 granted by the National Delta Gamma fraternity may be used at any accredited school of social work.

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The Tulane University School of Social Work has attempted to answer the perennial question about the cost of a year at the university. The study made by the school was carried out as a student-group research project under the direction of Walter Kindelsperger, professor of social group work. Using fifty full-time, out-of-town students as a sample group, the school found that it cost an average nonresident college student \$1,739.23 for thirty-six weeks of schooling in a regular school year. Using four and one-third weeks to a month, this figure totals \$209.34 per month.

In the case of automobile expenses, insurance, taxes, and dues, estimates for the entire sample group could not be drawn, although these expenses were of interest as individual items of expense.

The sample group consisted of forty single women, six single men, and four married students.

Tuition, fees, school supplies, and library fines represented the largest school-year expenditure. Food and housing expense ranked second and third, respectively—together \$672.56. Since the type of housing arrangement influenced the type of eating arrangement, the two were treated in conjunction with each other. Clothing, clothing upkeep, and laundry ranked fourth, amounting to \$204.95.

Transportation ranked only eighth in total expense, amounting to \$2,094.44, or 2.4 per cent, excluding automobile expense. The least expensive and most common means of transportation was public service, used by 61.4 per cent of the sample. The average expenditure was \$40.89.

The remaining categories amounted to only 11.3 per cent of the grand total expenditure of \$86,961.45. These included: health services (physicians' services, emergency medical care, dental services, psychiatric help, and pharmaceutical supplies), which averaged \$73.86 per student; correspondence and gifts, a \$46.24 average; personal beauty and barber care, \$35.33; tobacco, \$25.66; church and other contributions,

\$16.11; insurance, \$9.37; income tax, \$8.08; and professional dues, \$8.29.

The survey, it is hoped, will help in planning the cost of a college year for prospective Tulane school of social work students. It is pointed out that the study shows "a very considerable sum of money is brought into the New Orleans area by out-of-town students who come to further their social work education."

A second article by Helen Harris Perlman, "The Lecture as a Method in Teaching Case Work," which is the companion article to "Teaching Case Work by the Discussion Method" published in our September number, will be published in the March issue instead of in December as planned. The article is on hand but had to be held because of other commitments.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE McCARRAN ACT

Civil Liberties, the monthly publication of the American Civil Liberties Union, is opposing the antisubversive McCarran Act, which was passed over the President's veto. *Civil Liberties* is supporting a test of the act on two major fronts—in Congress and in the courts. They have offered aid in court to test those parts of the law that are considered unconstitutional.

A few days after the House and the Senate passed the message over the President's veto, the Congress began laying the groundwork for repeal or modification of the act after the November elections. *Civil Liberties* says:

The bill—which ACLU has opposed from the beginning—requires all Communist-action and Communist-front organizations and all Communist Party members as well, to register with the Government; sets up stringent new naturalization and immigration rules; and provides for placing potential saboteurs and spies in detention camps in wartime.

In offering help for court tests, ACLU's Board of Directors commented:

As uncompromising opponents of Communist tyranny, and all other forms of totalitarianism, we

deplore most of the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950. . . . They endanger the constitutional rights of all American citizens, and weaken instead of strengthen our national security against subversive acts. They embarrass our democracy in its world-wide struggle for the minds of men, by making us appear hypocritical rather than sincere in our professed devotion to civil liberties.

With reference to the large majorities by which Congress passed the bill twice, the ACLU Board commented that "many Senators and Congressmen seem to have hastily succumbed to popular hysteria, abdicating their proper function as rational and discriminating representatives."

Appealing to the people [not to imitate Congress], the ACLU urged Americans not to let passage of the bill "cause a general cancellation of free speech and other civil liberties—either by fear of exercising one's own rights, or by suppression of the rights of others."

President Truman recognized in his veto message that the act would "interfere with our liberties." He contended it would antagonize friendly governments, accord the American Government "powers to harass all of our citizens in the exercise of their rights of free speech," and help potential enemies by requiring publication of defense installations.

There were indications that the Administration might be slow to publish such a list. Through Attorney General J. Howard McGrath—also an opponent of the bill—it promised, however, to enforce the law fully. To comply with immigration provisions, the State Department has instructed visa officials abroad to deny entry to the United States to all totalitarians—a term it will be very difficult to define. The Attorney General planned to set up a special unit to carry out the provisions of the law.

DICKENS PERENNIAL

In an article which notes that *David Copperfield* was published one hundred years ago, the *Saturday Review of Literature* reminds us that Dickens was a great social reformer. In 1858 a very competent authority said of Dickens that

there is scarcely a social question on which Dickens has not touched; and there are few of his novels in which he has not blended the functions of a social and political critic with those of the artist to a degree detrimental, as many think, to his genius in the latter capacity. (When a lecturing professor says "as many think," what he means is that that is what *he* thinks.) The detriment, if detriment there was, wrought against Dickens's art by his social criticism need no longer concern us. Once a reform suggested in the guise of a story is effected, the propaganda that helped effect it loses its argumentative cast and blends back into the story. Dickens the social critic today would find many of his dragons slain, and many of them breathing a fire that had lost most of its edge. Dickens the political critic would find that the more things change, the more they remain the same. . . .

Dickens's relevance to the world as it exists (or tries to) eighty years after his death derives from [the] universality and continuity of his appeal. Of course, he is relevant to the world of today, since he helped to make it, fathered much of its thought and outlook, and still has capacity to grip and to infuriate mankind. For nothing proves his robust up-to-dateness more than the fact that it is still possible for an American to read "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit" and get hopping mad.

Finally there is the following pertinent quotation from the *Tale of Two Cities*:

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way—in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Measuring Results in Social Casework: A Manual on Judging Movement. By J. McV. HUNT and LEONARD S. KOGAN. New York: Family Service Association of America, 1950. Pp. 79. \$1.50.

Testing Results in Social Casework: A Field-Test of the Movement Scale. By J. McV. HUNT, MARGARET BLENKNER, and LEONARD S. KOGAN. New York: Family Service Association of America, 1950. Pp. 64. \$2.00.

The work of Dr. Hunt and his associates, reported in these two publications, has far-reaching implications for research in case work and, indeed, for case-work practice. Case workers have long set their goals in terms of the client's apparent capacity for "movement"; they have watched for evidences of "movement"; and they have often evaluated their work in terms of "movement." The concept, movement, is widely used and generally understood. It is less often defined in precise terms. Case work has long needed more adequate definition of movement and an instrument for its uniform measurement. If this "movement scale," developed by the authors, proves to be a useful and adequate instrument, a tool of great value will have been forged both for practice and for research in case work.

In brief outline, the work embraced: (1) the establishment of criteria for movement, (2) the development of a seven-point scale for judging movement, anchored by means of cases to illustrate points on the scale, (3) determination of the extent of agreement among a group of twenty-two case workers applying the scale to individuals in a series of test cases, and (4) determination of the extent of agreement between workers' ratings of their own cases and those of an independent judge with access, it should be noted, only to the workers' summaries. *Measuring Results in Social Casework* deals with the development of the movement scale, and, as the subtitle states, it is "A Manual on Judging Movement." It is more than this: it is an object lesson in applied logic in case work and in the cautious, critical approach that must characterize research in case work. *Testing Results in*

Social Casework deals with the experimental application of the scale and concerns the reliability of the instrument in the tests, problems in its application, and the results, in terms of extent of movement, of its application to a series of cases in the Community Service Society.

This work on measuring movement grew out of efforts by Hunt's predecessors at the Institute of Welfare Research of the Community Service Society to measure tension in case records on the assumption that movement in case work might be determined by an index of tension. An attempt to validate the tension measure by means of professional judgment showed remarkable uniformity of professional judgment about the amount of movement in the test cases and equally remarkable lack of agreement between concerted professional judgment and the tension index. In consequence, Hunt turned to developing a measure of movement based on case workers' judgment. Fortunately, in this earlier test, workers were asked not only to give their judgment of movement but in each case to put in writing the reasons for their judgment.

The criteria for movement were formulated by analysis of the case workers' statements in order to determine the common denominator of professional judgment, a process in which the irrelevant was discarded and the relevant was focused and refined. Movement is defined as "the change that appears in the adaptive efficiency, in the disabling habits and conditions, and in the verbalized attitudes and understanding of an individual client, and/or in his environmental situation between the opening and closing of his case." The direction of change may be improvement or deterioration. This definition of movement is at once simple, yet comprehensive. In *Measuring Results in Social Casework* each of the four categories of evidence for movement is spelled out and illustrated.

The scale presented for measuring movement has seven steps, providing for the range of change in clients actually found in the course of these researches. That change may be marked deterioration or improvement so great as to represent movement from near helplessness at opening to effective functioning at closing. Rela-

tively high scores on the scale are thus possible only for clients whose situations and responses at case opening are so problematic as to "leave room" for great improvement. This logically follows from the fact that *movement*, i.e., change, is what is measured.

The anchor cases which exemplify points on the scale are well presented and carefully analyzed. No case worker who reads the material can fail to perceive that the case which illustrates +4 movement involves greater change than that which indicates +2 movement. That is, the progression from case to case to show greater degrees of movement is clear. The authors go so far as to characterize the +4 case as involving twice as much movement as the +2, and so on. The concept of twice as much movement or half as much movement at the present stage of our knowledge seems dubious to the reviewers. Numbers could still be used for purposes of computation, as well as to avoid subjective response to terms such as "slight" or "great."

The test of the scale showed substantial agreement among the case workers in their ratings of movement of individuals judged in the test cases: the mean of the correlations between each worker's judgment and the mean judgment of the group was +0.9. A further test was made wherein each worker prepared a special closing summary to show movement, positive or negative, in the case and rated his own cases. An independent judge then rated movement on the basis of the summaries. For individuals in the cases who were rated by both the worker and the judge conformity in ratings was quite high, the correlation being +0.80; the means of their respective judgments differed by less than one-tenth of a step on the scale; and in only three instances were the ratings of worker and judge more than one step apart. It should be noted in passing, perhaps, that any disparity between movement as shown in the record and movement as shown in the summary remains unknown. The tests indicate, however, that the movement scale is a reliable instrument, at least in the hands of workers at the CSS who were trained in its use.

The question to whom shall the scale be applied remains largely an open one. Obviously, in order to judge the movement of an individual between the opening and closing of a case according to the established criteria, there must be evidence that bears on his situation and his responses to it at opening and at closing. No serious attempt is made in the Manual (*Measuring*

Results in Social Casework) to come to grips with this difficult question of sufficiency of evidence, nor did the workers through training in use of the scale come to have any common requirements as to evidence. Thus, in the series of test cases there were 122 individuals, and the number of individuals judged by the different workers ranged from 76 to 116. The authors simply comment, "Presumably some workers feel comfortable about applying the scale with less evidence than do others." In the course of testing it was found that evidence for judging was likely to be deemed sufficient by the raters only in cases with five or more interviews. Even in the Manual, the scale is applied to individuals on the basis of evidence that appears questionable. For example, movement is analyzed for two small children, known only through the mother, for whom the evidence is both fragmentary and hearsay. The whole question of sufficiency of evidence for valid application of the scale would seem to require much further study, and particularly with respect to its application to individuals other than the principal client. In brief, while the raters agree on their ratings of those whom they judge in common, they do not yet agree on whom to rate.

The authors distinguish between "applicability," a criterion which relates to sufficiency of evidence for application of the scale, and "relevance," which concerns the appropriateness of its application as a measure of the results of case work. Obviously, it is illogical to measure the results of case work by determining movement if movement was not an objective in a given case. On the other hand, there is no logical difficulty in measuring movement in cases in which movement was not a definite treatment goal if the measurement of movement is not confused with measurement of results—or "success in case work." Perhaps it is unfortunate that the two publications stress measurement of results in their titles, while measurement of movement is relegated to the subtitles.

A tool of great promise has been made available for research in case work. Once movement can successfully be measured, a basis is laid for seeking answers to a whole series of questions. What kinds of cases show movement? With what treatment? And under what circumstances? After how long? The answers to such questions are keys to improved practice. But the movement scale is a tool that is not ready for the hands of everyone willing to wield it. Training must precede its use even experimentally. Thus far it has been used in only one agency. It is to

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be hoped that as its use is extended the users will be as careful and cautious as Hunt and his associates in testing as they go.

The implications for research in case work are wider than the potential usefulness of this particular new instrument. The development of this scale itself demonstrates what can be done in developing measures for case work. That the difficulties are many and great has long been established. That measuring instruments for the field can be developed, granted intensive and expensive research, has now been demonstrated.

Finally, this work holds implications for practice of case work. The field has been given a precise definition of movement which should serve well, until a better one is evolved, to focus professional thought and to facilitate professional communication. The goals which practicing case workers set for their clients and for themselves are often not realistic. Sometimes they relate to the case worker's wish for the client, or to his subjective standard, or to his awareness of the immensity of the client's need. The careful criteria of change set down in this study may well give direction to the case worker's efforts and help him focus on the dynamic concept of change for his client rather than on some predetermined fixed goal. In addition to this, the fact that these indicators of movement have been systematically formulated and carefully exemplified may, if they are consistently used by the practicing case worker, lead to a systematic form of thinking about the movement in his cases. Has there been change in this client's adaptive efficiency? Is there change in his disabling habits or conditions? Does he show by what he says that he feels or understands his situation differently? Are there changes in his environmental circumstances? These criteria might well serve in the continuing and constant appraisal of the client in relation to the case-work situation. Their value lies not alone in providing a uniform means by which both client and case-work process may be appraised. Their chief value, perhaps, is in the fact that they demand that the worker's effort and good will and skills and services be not assumed to be growth-producing simply by their presence, but that certain evidences of change in a person and/or his circumstances must be found in the case to warrant a judgment of "movement." These are among the major potential values in this study for improvement of case-work practice.

MARY E. MACDONALD
HELEN H. PERLMAN

University of Chicago

Introduction to the Theory of Statistics. By ALEXANDER M. MOOD. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950. Pp. xiii+433. \$5.00.

As its title suggests, this book focuses upon the theory of statistics. At the outset the author says: "The lay conception of statistics ordinarily includes the collection of large masses of data and the presentation of such data in tables or charts; it may also include the calculation of totals, averages, percentages, and the like. In any case this conception is about thirty years out of date; these more or less routine operations are only an incidental part of statistics today" (p. 1).

Continuing development of the theory of statistics is of importance to the scholarly world, of course. The author is fully warranted in devoting his energies to this area. But in stressing the importance of theory, he unfortunately leaves the impression that the subject of descriptive statistics is "incidental" and involves only "routine operations." These evaluations should not pass unchallenged.

Actually in most of the major social functions of our communities—for example, in public health, housing, social work, public education, library service, and the like—administration of existing programs and the rational planning of new activities are dependent upon the competent guidance provided by those who are skilled in descriptive statistics. The statisticians engaged in this work are specialists no less than those who devote themselves exclusively to the refinement of theory. They are skilled in a body of methods, disciplined and experienced in a specialized kind of analysis. It is not a service to the field to dismiss lightly the contributions made by these people.

Following his introductory chapter, the author plunges at once into "probability." Succeeding chapters elaborate the theory of sampling and discuss, among other topics, tests of hypotheses, regression, variance, distribution-free methods. The treatment is designed for students who have completed one year of calculus. Comprehensive sets of problems are provided at the end of each chapter.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

The Handicapped Child: A Guide for Parents. By EDITH M. STERN with ELSA CASTENDYCK. New York: A. A. Wyn, Inc., 1950. Pp. xii+179. \$2.00.

Being a successful parent is one of life's most challenging assignments. When the child is physically or intellectually handicapped, the task is many times greater, for the parent must put forth added effort, both physical and mental, to cope with the many problems constantly presented. Not only must the child receive physical assistance as needed, guidance, and understanding; but the parents must adjust to their own feelings about the total situation and somehow steer the family interrelationships along an even course which will permit normal living under abnormal circumstances.

Medical advances in recent years have resulted in the complete or partial physical rehabilitation of many who a few generations ago would have been written off as permanently hopeless and helpless. The advent of special education with schools and classes adapted to the needs of handicapped children, the development of better methods for psychological evaluation of the exceptional child, and the growing interest and concern of social workers for the adjustment needs of this group have substituted stimulating opportunity and constructive encouragement for the old palliatives of custodial care, pity, and fatalistic forbearance. At long last, attention is being focused upon the role of the parents and their need for guidance with the child.

This short book is fascinating in its warmth, directness, and simplicity. Edith Stern and Elsa Castendyck have drawn upon their rich experience and upon the advice of specialists in many areas to incorporate in one volume a series of comforting, yet heartening and encouraging, "talks" with parents of children variously handicapped. Emphasizing mental hygiene and trying to relieve feelings of guilt and anxiety through the substitution of understanding, the authors are careful to confine themselves within the limits of their chosen title. It is their hope that the book will "lead parents to seek the help of experts on their problems and to explore further pathways towards as well-adjusted and near-normal lives for their children as possible."

The case-work approach is predominant throughout. The parent is helped to recognize and accept as natural the disturbing feelings which inevitably result from the awareness that one's child is physically or mentally deviant. Various suggestions are offered for dealing with the actualities of the situation in such a way that faith, hope, and satisfaction over small gains will pervade the atmosphere of the family home. Specific problems are discussed in a man-

ner that is almost certain to interest and attract even the most unhappy and defensive parents. Each chapter ends as would a successful interview. Courses of action are suggested, but the parent-reader is left with reasonable freedom for the exercise of individual judgment in working with his own child.

The subject matter of the nine chapters is as follows: "Your Handicapped Child and You"; "If Your Child Is Crippled"; "If Your Child Has Cerebral Palsy"; "... Has Epilepsy"; "... Is Blind or Partially Sighted"; "... Is Deaf or Hard of Hearing"; "... Is Retarded"; "... Has a Speech Handicap"; "... Has Rheumatic Fever or Another Long Illness."

The psychological appeal is virtually irresistible. Having read the introductory chapter, the parent of a handicapped child proceeds to the material of most direct concern to him. He then will be interested to learn how it compares with that directed to parents of children with other conditions. Each chapter contains much that can be helpful to those whose initial interest may have been centered upon a different chapter. Having completed the volume, the parent realizes that thousands of others have problems as great as his own and that, by understanding himself in relation to the child and the rest of the family, the group may achieve real and lasting happiness.

Although it was written exclusively for parents, all professional persons whose efforts concern physically handicapped children should read this book and keep it on hand for their own reference or to interest parents who have been hard to reach.

RICHARD EDDY

Illinois Children's Hospital-School

An Introduction to Public Welfare. By ARTHUR P. MILES. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1949. Pp. 450. \$4.00.

Mr. Miles's book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on public welfare and social security because it places present-day developments in historical perspective. Furthermore, it is the only recent publication which is directly oriented to social work. The author states that he has written for undergraduate and beginning graduate students of public welfare administration, for administrators in public welfare agencies, and for workers in in-service training courses, as well as for the general reader.

The material is divided into four parts: I, "Historical Background"; II, "Formative Years in Public Welfare"; III, "Modern Public Welfare Programs"; and IV, "Administrative Techniques." Approximately one-half the book is primarily historical and represents what Mr. Miles points out is "self-evident indebtedness" to those public welfare pioneers, Miss Breckinridge and Miss Abbott of the University of Chicago. In a summary fashion but with a surprising amount of vivid detail are presented the influence upon American poor law of the English heritage, the rise of state agencies and their movement from supervision to control, the efforts of Dorothea Lynde Dix to secure federal aid and the consequent effects on federal policy, the origin and development of the charity organization society movement in Europe and the United States, the growth of social insurance in Europe and the United States, and the development of the various categorical aid programs before 1934.

Parts III and IV trace the emergency relief programs that eventuated in the Social Security Act and discuss problems of organization and administration of welfare activities, federal, state, and local. In the last section attention is given to administrative management, personnel administration, federal-state-local relationships, individualized services, finance, and research and reporting. Although public welfare is defined as "tax supported social work" and described to include, besides public assistance, "those governmental services for the prevention and treatment of delinquency, crime, neglect, and physical and mental handicaps and . . . various special services to underprivileged children," the discussion is around function rather than programs; that is, the federal, state, and local governmental unit's organization and administration of activities are the center of interest.

The book brings together a wealth of detailed information that is useful for quick reference. Footnotes abound; each chapter is concluded with a selected bibliography. The style is lively; the author does not hesitate to express his opinion on confusing and controversial issues—or to use slanted words as when he refers to emergency work relief as "leaf raking types of projects." One might also criticize the inclusion of what would seem extraneous information (for example, too detailed material about the original and modified proposals of President Harding for a federal welfare department) and the omis-

sion of mention of such a current development as the mental health activities of the Public Health Service. A few statements might be challenged for accuracy; e.g., the conclusion that Amos G. Warner favored subsidies. But, on the whole, Mr. Miles has produced a useful and comprehensive descriptive interpretation of a most complex area of social work and one that should be available to all students and practitioners of public welfare.

ARLIEN JOHNSON

*School of Social Work
University of Southern California*

Community Organization and Planning. By ARTHUR HILLMAN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. xi+378. \$4.00.

The major focus of this book is on community organization and planning at the local level. The author concludes that these activities are two aspects of one process, in that community organization is a necessary condition for rational local planning and community action.

As a sociologist, the author is aware that successful planning must stem from and relate to the needs and sentiments of the individual citizen. Expressing these needs and fashioning them into rational objectives is the process of community organization and planning. It follows that, in the United States, planning should be directed toward democratic goals, to be accomplished by democratic methods.

An additional vital conclusion of the author is the obvious but much neglected idea that the economic, physical, and social aspects of the community are closely interrelated. Planning, therefore, must be carried out with this idea as a basic, integrative principle.

The assumptions noted above logically take this study into a discussion of community leadership, the role of the expert, and the several processes believed to be essential to community organization in a democracy. The method of presentation consists of brief generalization of a given problem followed by examples of successful practice. The author cites many experiments and frequently quotes from documents written on the basis of field observations. In all sections one finds a rich presentation of primary data and broad reference to current publications.

In its general scope, this study resembles a survey in that it touches to a limited extent on

all areas of planning: physical, economic, and social. City planning, rural planning, and small-town planning are briefly presented. More specifically the author surveys current planning activities in the areas of housing, social work, race relations, public recreation, and other special-purpose areas. Policy formation and administration in community organization are touched upon, as is the problem of bringing together local and national planning within a rational frame of reference.

A book such as this has both the values and limitations of its scope. In surveying the field of planning, it brings a broad perspective, and the rich array of illustrations can stimulate and encourage further badly needed effort in community organization and planning. Important, too, are the basic assumptions clearly stated by the author.

The limitations arise as a result of employing a survey method with this type of data. It is unfortunate that more space could not be devoted to defining basic problems and more rigorously analyzing the community organization methods and processes described in the many illustrations.

W. L. KINDELSPERGER

Tulane University

Dynamics of Prejudice: A Psychological and Sociological Study of Veterans. By BRUNO BETTELHEIM and MORRIS JANOWITZ. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. x+227. \$3.50.

This book is one of five volumes which has been produced under the sponsorship of the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee as the initial part of a series of exploratory studies into the social and the psychological roots of minority group prejudice. Focusing on racial intolerance and observing that the chief promoters and followers of the anti-Semitism in Germany that developed after World War I were former soldiers, the authors of this book chose to study a random sample of 150 male noncommissioned army veterans of World War II. Members of minority racial groups were excluded, and only Chicago residents under thirty-five years of age were included. Interviews were carried out six to eight months after discharge from service in order to specially test the tolerant feelings of a group that had undergone varying degrees of major deprivation in connection with army life and the

subsequent period of civilian readjustment.

Four principal psychological hypotheses were tested by the study: (1) that hostility toward outgroups is a function of an individual's feeling that he has suffered deprivation in the past; (2) that such hostility is furthermore the individual's anxiety in anticipation of future adjustments as inferred from his expectations of deprivation; (3) that the outgroup is blamed for the individual's failure to master past and future environmental experiences, and undesirable characteristics denied by the hostile person are projected onto members of the outgroup; (4) that racial intolerance is related more to the individual's dynamic movement within the structure of society than to this position in society at a particular moment.

An interview involving 160 predetermined questions was worked out and a standard procedure for its use developed. Open-end type questions were used in order to require spontaneous and meaningful responses. Only nine direct questions with regard to feelings toward Jews and nine with regard to Negroes were introduced near the end of the interview. In order to realize the maximum usefulness of the questionnaire, only psychiatrically trained social workers with experience in sampling public opinion were used for interviewing.

With regard to anti-Semitic feelings, the study classified 41% as "tolerant"; 28% as "stereotyped"; 27% as "outspokenly anti-Semitic"; and 4% as "intensely anti-Semitic." In contrast, with regard to anti-Negro attitudes, 8% were classified as "tolerant"; 27% as "stereotyped"; 49% as "outspokenly anti-Negro"; and 16% as "intensely anti-Negro." The differences in attitude patterns projected toward the two groups were drawn out and the psychological dynamics of these differences developed.

Using the war experience as potentially deprivational, the study results suggest that intolerance is highly associated with feelings of personal deprivation and that such feelings persist in face of the reality that one's fate was not particularly bad. The data collected indicate that intolerance rather than being the function of a specific social situation results from past experiences and attaches itself to what are considered personal dangers of the present or future. Indicative of this was the finding that the generally optimistic veterans were much more associated with tolerance toward Jews than were the pessimistic.

Of special interest was the observation that

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the 40% who stated that their families had suffered economic hardship during the depression showed less tolerance than those who described their families as having gotten along pretty well. Intolerant men showed a tendency to feel a vague anxiety about future events that related to security. The authors of the study follow this observation, however, by pointing out that any generalization that the fact of individual anxiety will necessarily lead to or contribute to racial intolerance must be avoided, since a substantial share of tolerant men are those who have succeeded in directing the discharge of their social tensions into other channels of expression than racial intolerance. As an answer to what causes some individuals to select racial intolerance as a method of discharging their hostility, the conclusion arrived at by the authors is that people tend to select as the objects of their tensions those things or people which the community, including their family, generally disapprove of. The difference between the degree of intolerance toward the Negro and the Jew was particularly explained on this basis.

The final conclusion seems to be that, in the absence of a strong personality committed to tolerance, factors of subjective deprivation and downward or stationary social mobility together with the degree of acceptance of expression of racial intolerance permitted by one's society are the important psychological determinants of racial hostility. Looking to the future, the conclusion is, therefore, that while educational measures offer long-term hope for improvement, such things as stabilization of employment and extension of social security together with the divorcement of self-respect from ability to achieve upward social mobility are the most important factors for lessening social intolerance.

This study is surely an important contribution to an understanding of a problem long plaguing those concerned with social relations and social problems. The sample used may be questioned from various standpoints, and many questions remain to be answered or more adequately supported. While certain previous findings in the field of social psychology may differ with some of the observations and conclusions of this study, the kind of study undertaken here and the carefulness of its execution appeal to those who have long speculated on the psychosocial dynamics of racial intolerance.

RICHARD G. GUILFORD

University of Minnesota

Catholic Social Thought: Its Approach to Contemporary Problems. By MELVIN J. WILLIAMS. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950. Pp. iv+576. \$5.00.

This comprehensive volume written by a non-Catholic summarizes objectively the views of leading Catholic social thinkers from the Renaissance to the present. It is not a review of Catholic philosophy, nor is it a history of Catholic social thought; it is rather an evaluation of what Catholic scholars have contributed to social science in the last five hundred years. The volume is limited to summarizing the sociophilosophical thought of those Catholic social scientists who regard Catholic social principles and teachings as being important elements of the science as a whole. While primary attention has been given to American and English social thinkers and their works, European scholars have received considerable attention.

Reverend Paul Hanley Furley of Catholic University of America, who writes the Foreword, comments on the extraordinary lack of prejudice shown by Dr. Williams in every part of his work. No previous writer has attempted the task which the author has accomplished, namely, a summary in a single volume of the varied contributions of Catholic scholars to all the social sciences. The care with which he has examined a vast amount of research is impressive. He answers such questions as: What do Catholics regard as sociology? What contributions have Catholics made to social theory and to the branches of sociology? What are the trends in contemporary Catholic economic, political, and legal thought? To what extent have Catholic ideas actually been applied to the understanding and handling of social problems?

A classified bibliography provides references for readers who desire to pursue further the theories and ideas advanced by thinkers in other countries and who seek a complete review of current trends of Catholic social thought.

The author's analysis of Catholic social thought reveals that there is a certain unity of thought which traverses all the different individual motives and viewpoints and which is rooted in Catholic tradition. He finds that the basic formulation for all Catholic social thought has been furnished through the idea that civilization is itself a unity and the related viewpoints of St. Thomas' sociophilosophical synthesis. Dr. Williams points out that Catholic social thinkers in reacting to the modern emphasis upon materialism, sensualism, and humanism

which has apparently been out of harmony with the Catholic sociophilosophical system have tended on the one hand to develop a dialectical and apologetic point of view. On the other hand some have sought to develop a positive and constructive outlook for meeting social problems, for stimulating social solidarity, and for preserving and cultivating the well-being of mankind.

It is his belief that Catholic social scientists have perhaps done more than any other single group to trace the historical, cultural, and intellectual currents of social reform movements. Dr. Williams feels that the more definite sociological contributions of Catholic social scientists have been made by those students who have sought to ascertain facts concerning social life; to construct a system of sociology such as Frédéric Le Play and others; and to synthesize the findings and thinking of students in the field of social science for the purpose of presenting an up-to-date picture of social and cultural life, institutions, processes, and the like.

There were found to be among Catholic contemporary sociologists two different approaches to sociology. One approach regards sociology as a synthetic social science which studies all social phenomena and their interrelations and interprets them in the light of religious and philosophical principles. The other approach regards sociology as an autonomous empirical social science, which gathers data solely from observation and experience and studies only the integrative and disintegrative aspects of human relations, of social processes and social structures. The vast majority of Catholic sociological research in America the author reveals has been conducted in connection with the Catholic University of America.

Dr. Williams believes that the most fundamental aspect of sociology is its methodology and that one of the fundamental problems for sociologists of the future is to develop a methodological viewpoint which will be acceptable to all.

Therefore, admitting his prejudice for the value of an autonomous-synthetic sociology, he suggests from the basis of his findings in this study and his own knowledge of sociology a methodological frame of reference which he feels might be acceptable to all Catholic sociologists since it combines the approaches of both contemporary groups.

In discussing Catholic social work Dr. Williams states that Catholic social work theory and practice can be understood only in terms of

the sociophilosophical frame of reference which incorporates social work into the system of Catholic social thought and principles. In this system of thought, social work tends to become social action on the one hand and Catholic action on the other. He reasons that the essential disagreements between Catholic and non-Catholic social workers and the differences among various Catholic social workers may be traced to methodological differences which when understood show much more in common than is generally accepted.

But the chapter on "Modern Trends in Social Work" does not show that Catholics to any appreciable degree are submitting their differences to the disciplined efforts of research. The references evaluated here are not only few but in the main do not represent recent contributions to research.

The author remarks in concluding his book that "there is one striking difference between some Catholic sociologists and most non-Catholic sociologists. The former possess a 'scientific attitude' which but few non-Catholic possess. For most Catholic sociologists admit that their approach to sociology is 'colored by a philosophy.' The admission is a clue to the reader and it offers an insight which he may not otherwise have as he studies the works of a particular sociologist. Further, such an admission is a declaration of a simple fact: that all of the sciences of the human world must begin with a conception of man. The philosophical basis of sociology is an essential part of its methodology; therefore, the sociologist of the future may profit from the Catholic by admitting that he too has a philosophical viewpoint, which had better be stated lest he be numbered among the pseudo-scientists—the propaganda agents par excellence."

ALICE PADGETT

National Catholic School of Social Service
Catholic University of America

The Movement To Americanize the Immigrant.

By EDWARD GEORGE HARTMANN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 333. \$4.00.

The coming of several hundred thousand new immigrants to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 with its amendments of 1950 makes this book an important result of study and research. The opening chapter,

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"Background," affords a review of the familiar facts as to "old" and "new" immigration. The author describes his theme as follows:

An educative movement, the Americanization effort stressed the desirability of the rapid assimilation of the millions of immigrants who had come to America during the pre-war decades, through the attendance of the newcomers at special classes, lectures, and mass meetings, where they might be instructed in the language, the ideals, and outlook on life which had come to be accepted as the traditional American point of view.

In tracing the changing attitudes toward the immigrant in the United States, the Preface tends to confuse the Americanization movement with those forces that are in opposition to the new immigration. It has, on the other hand, long been the pride of the social settlements, of such organizations as the YMCA, of such patriotic societies as the Colonial Dames, that they, out of friendship for the foreign-born, sponsored and promoted the Americanization movement before it was "taken over" by public authorities.

The author perhaps gives undue weight to the compulsions originating with those seeking to bring about the restriction of immigration. The earlier role of labor in opposition to the new immigration is pointed out and also the social problems in the community—poverty, insanitary housing, crowding, crime—from which the immigrant especially suffered but for which he was not responsible.

The old-fashioned complaint against the newcomer that he congregates in cities is cited but effectively explained.

They gathered together in little neighborhood groups which in most cases quickly spread out into the surrounding areas to form little ethnic colonies in the midst of their urban surroundings. . . . To the foreigner, ignorant of the English language, bewildered by his new surroundings, and homesick for his native environment, association with his own kind offered a sense of security in the midst of confusion, a kind of haven for the new, vigorous, competitive environment which he found all about him.

It was the International Committee of the YMCA which in 1907 "sponsored a conference in New York City of representatives from the chief ports of entry—philanthropists, social workers, writers, leaders in the industrial field, and others in the public life of America— . . . forming an organization to accomplish the civic betterment of the immigrant."

The North American Civic League resulted

and became the forerunner of all organized "Immigrant Aid." Among the very first of these specialized agencies was the Immigrants' Protective League, organized in Chicago in 1908. Dr. Hartmann devotes several pages to the leadership of the Immigrants' Protective League in that stirring period.

The League's secretary, Miss Grace Abbott, he writes, undertook "studies of two of Chicago's ethnic groups, the Bulgarians and Greeks; and of the existing employment agencies which catered to the immigrant. Miss Abbott undertook also a study of the role which the municipality could play in correcting existing evils in regard to the immigrant. As a result of her studies, the Illinois State Legislature amended and improved greatly the existing legislation in regard to employment agencies."

So effective was the work of the private social agency that it led to public action. Various states, especially New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, enacted legislation creating state immigration commissions which undertook vigorous programs. Miss Grace Abbott herself became the Secretary of the Massachusetts Commission to prepare a report on the immigrant in that state. Great impetus was given to the whole national movement. Massachusetts is still carrying on in that direction—perhaps the most complete program in the country—under its State Department of Education.

The federal government had created a United States Immigration Commission, which presented its findings to the Congress in 1911 in a report of forty-two volumes. Among its recommendations were those favoring the reading and writing test for incoming immigrants. Although many members of the Congress and four Presidents of the United States pointed out the injustices of the "literacy test," it was finally made a part of the Selective Immigration Act of 1917 and it gave emphasis to developments in Americanization.

Throughout this period, interest was awakened in certain executive departments of the government. The Secretary of the Interior set up a Division of Immigrant Education in the Bureau of Education. The Bureau of Naturalization, then under the United States Department of Labor, "entered the Americanization movement by joining forces with the public schools in the spring of 1914 to sponsor a system of citizenship classes throughout the nation. The Federal Bureau of Naturalization was respon-

isble for laying the plans which blossomed eventually into the full crusade in the summer of 1915."

Several chapters are devoted to a full description of the movement in the years just preceding the outbreak of World War I. The book has been carefully prepared and will serve as an important reference source. There is, however, considerable repetition in the use of material. The results of the first "Americanization Day" plan are appraised—a program still promoted by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service—under the present title of "I Am an American Day," celebrations now held in many cities on a day proclaimed by the President in May.

New impetus to the Americanization movement arose out of the "revelation" through World War I draft, "that 700,000 out of the 10,000,000 registrants, most of whom were immigrants, could not sign their names. . . . Even those who had heretofore been apathetic to the question of immigrant education now realized just how serious an impairment to the nation's military efficiency and production capacity these figures represented."

"Unfortunately, the common tendency was to blame the immigrant"—then as now, and especially in times of national emergency—"for his failure to learn the language of America. Actually, his failure to do so could be attributed less to his lack of desire rather than the unfortunate circumstances that prevented him from so doing as well as to lack of opportunity."

In his attention to the "Post War Americanization Drive," the author covers the first "anti-Red crusade" and some of the illegal practices in the Attorney General's notorious deportation drives. Comparisons with certain present-day hysteria are salutary. The challenge to civil liberties in this field was met in part, at that time, by the organization of an influential national body known as the Inter-Racial Council. New legislation was secured in various states. Revisions of the series of Federal Citizenship Text Books took place. State and local boards of education renewed their co-operative relationships of referral of naturalization applicants by the federal government. National groups themselves rallied to promote the movement. "Colleges and Universities held classes in Americanization during their summer sessions and in their evening extension divisions."

The book ends somewhat abruptly with "The Post War Drive." Although the author

admits that the Americanization process "is still at work today," the tone of the monograph is that of a movement somewhat "dead and buried." Its very recent publication suggests that at least some more forward look should have marked its end. For the events leading up to World War II kept the subject constantly before public attention. To have traced the transition of Americanization into "the budding Adult Education movement" would have placed the movement in its appropriate present-day setting.

There will be many who will regret the statement in the author's final evaluation—"Even the most idealistic social worker still felt a bit of the American superiority complex." For there are many social workers who remember their interesting experience as residents of social settlements, where every effort has been made to preserve the customs and cultures of the immigrant who has so greatly enriched the culture of America. Different to be sure, but *not* inferior to the American pattern!

The book has an exceptionally good bibliography—48 pages of references—a catalogue of the changing attitudes toward the newcomer and the immigrant.

ADENA M. RICH

Immigrants' Protective League
Chicago

Life and Education in Early Societies. By THOMAS WOODY. New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. xx+825. \$7.50.

The importance of a reconsideration of the processes of learning from the standpoint of nonschool education operative among nonliterate peoples has been discussed recently by another writer. This emphasis on the influence of other agencies than "school education" serves to highlight the contribution of general culture as the medium for the transmission of the human heritage. This is true, whether the society under consideration is "high" or "low"; whether it makes use of "schools" for the purpose or not.

This reviewer believes that there has been a general failure to understand "education" in its varied forms. Indeed, it is not even clear that teachers recognize their real position in society. The basic needs of men are the same, but the mode of their satisfaction varies with habitat and culture. Consequently, only the cultures differ. Goldenweiser holds that, since races do

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not differ significantly, there are many possible civilizations. It becomes, thus, a relative thing, subject to time, place, and people.

Professor Thomas Woody of the University of Pennsylvania is a scholar as well as a teacher of education. Professor Woody has striven to remove false notions from the minds of students of education and their teachers. He conceives the totality of the educative process rather than its marginal fringe, the province of the "public" school and its formal teacher. He submits that: "There has been much talk of educating the whole man. A modern psychology has emphasized the indivisibility of mind and matter. If history of education were studied from this point of view, if attention were fixed on the whole of man's experience, a more faithful portrait would emerge."

Woody describes his book as one which in "giving considerable space to physical aspects of man's life and education in certain societies and combining therewith a sketch of the culture of the mind, aims modestly to supplement existing histories." He hopes that "perhaps the time will come when physical and mental culture can be brought together properly in a single work and adequate time will be vouchsafed to such a study as a phase of man's civilization."

The scope of the volume ranges from education's "pre-literate origins through the early oriental developments in Egypt, India, Babylonia, Israel, and China and through the Mediterranean cultures—Cretan, Spartan, Athenian, and Roman." After a too brief Introduction and comment on "Primitive Life and Education," the book is divided into three main sections: "In the Great River Valleys," "Empires of the Sea," and "The Empire of the East and West." These titles are intriguing but promise more than they actually deliver. For example, to dispose of the culture of the Nile, the Tigris, the Hwang-Ho, and the Indus in 147 pages, with only some thirty pages devoted to three thousand years of Chinese civilization and twenty-four dealing with the sub-continent of India, seems hardly adequate.

On the other hand, the struggle for Hellenic culture and the Hellenization of education is fairly told but this is not new. The *Pax Romana*, with its motif of imperial culture, is extremely interesting but ends abruptly with the high paganism of the city. However, three chapters stand out particularly: (19) "From Provincial to Cosmopolitan Culture," (21) "Woman's Sphere and Education," and (25) "The Idle

Quest for Happiness." In these chapters, which describe the "atrophy of letters," physical education as such does forge to the fore, but it could not have done so without regard to the setting in which it developed. The general culture is probably as significant.

However, this remains an important book if the reviewer is right in thinking that it marks a trend toward the recognition of the totality of the educative process. If our purpose is to understand "education," literate education and "formal" education, as presently defined, are only grains of sand on the seashore. The whole ocean lies unexplored before us.

It is hoped that a strong effort to discover and capture this *terra incognita* to education will be made in the near future.

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
Salem, Oregon

Freedom and Planning in Australia. By A. CAMPBELL GARNETT. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949. Pp. x+331. \$4.00.

We have been hearing and reading of late about the supposed Australian reaction against socialism and all its works. The people there are said to have deliberately voted in two or more elections to return to the regime of free and private capitalistic enterprise. It scarcely needs saying that this counterrevolution, if it has occurred, will affect the rest of the democratic world and produce significant consequences everywhere.

This book contains no comments on the elections in question. The author is an Australian by birth and education who has been for many years an American citizen and a professor of philosophy in our colleges. He has written on religion, politics, and government and is certainly well qualified in every way to interpret the life and thinking of his interesting native land to that of his adoption.

As the title of his work indicates, he is well aware of the manifold problems of "planning," of centralization and government control, and of the implications of "Freedom," that is, individualism and laissez faire in economic activities and relationships. He is no dogmatist or doctrinaire. He writes as a judicious realist. He is not an apologist for the Labor governments: he knows their weaknesses, gaps, and failures. But

he also knows the conditions and factors—physical, geographic, economic, and moral—which have determined the policies of the Australian governments and parties. There are old-fashioned liberals in Australia, opponents of Statism, that is, socialization of industries and elimination of private profit therefrom. There are also opportunists and compromisers. The existing economic system is not socialist, but distinctly mixed.

Certain facts, however, must be borne in mind in judging or predicting Australian trends and programs. Among them are these: Labor is the party of the working masses. Generally, the farmer in the states has voted Labor. The upper income groups vote antilabor, and there is a "swinging group"—white-collar workers, some

unionists, and middle-class women who lean away from Labor. As matters now stand, no Australian party can stay in power without the support of the nonsocialist elements. Yet Labor has been more successful than any other party in holding together the diverse elements of the population for major policies designed to meet the major problems of Australian development. Thus no radical change in the political situation and alignment is to be expected in the foreseeable future. The extremists of the Right, as of the Left, may imagine vain things, but the fate of the country will continue to be determined by the common sense of the masses and the realities of geography and economics.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, California

BRIEF NOTICES

How To Take a Case before the National Labor Relations Board. By LOUIS G. SILVERBERG. Washington: Bureau of National Affairs, 1949. Pp. viii + 292. \$5.00.

"The Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 is the most extensive and complicated piece of labor legislation ever adopted in the history of the United States." This is the first sentence of a handbook by the Director of Information for the National Labor Relations Board. Some indication of the complexities of the law is shown in the summaries of the act and in the description of the organization and processes of the Board, which administers major parts of the act. Thus it takes 26 pages to make clear in chapter iii "How unions comply and keep in compliance with filing requirements." Other chapters cover "How to determine union's majority status," "Union-shop elections," "How to remedy unfair labor practices: Proceedings in Regional Offices," "Proceedings before Trial Examiner and Board," "Jurisdictional dispute cases," and "How and when to serve papers." Excellent diagrams help to make the main procedures clear. All major forms—for petitions and charges, notices, orders, and ballots—are reproduced verbatim. Copies of the act, of the Rules and Regulations of the NLRB, and of the delegation memorandum on the functions of the General Counsel of the Board are included. There are also directories of the Board's Regional Offices and of state mediation agencies. This is a useful book for clients of the Board and for others who want details on the Board's procedures. It is a commentary on the complexity of the law and its processes that a private publisher finds it worth while to publish this.

EMILY CLARK BROWN

Communities for Better Living. By JAMES DAHIR. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. 311. \$4.00.

In the words of the author this book was written "to call attention to the social consequences of the local physical environment, to suggest that improvement . . . is needed, and to indicate how this can be effectively undertaken by the people most concerned." The author pursues his objective by way of a survey of selected community action programs, including all types of communities from the extreme of New York City, on one hand, to the open country settlement.

Introductory chapters deal with general problems facing urban and rural communities and with the principles that the author believes to be important in promoting citizen action. The introductory part is followed by chapters on: "Attacking Chaos in the Central Cities"; "Planned Suburban Development"; "Satellite Cities"; "Development in Rural Areas"; and "Encouragement from the Past." The foregoing sections are developed around brief sketches of projects and community undertakings. Apparently these examples were selected by the author as representing substantial citizen achievement.

Two additional sections complete this study. One section is called "New Local Institutions," in which the author discusses community centers, community orchestras, community museums, etc. The final section deals with problems of finance, the role of government in the development of such projects, and the role of the social science departments of colleges and universities as providing expert knowledge and services. A very useful Bibliography of some 29 pages should prove to be one of the real values of

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this book. A number of photographs are included in the text.

The scope of projects covered in this survey is such as to require a corps of experts if a rigorous review were to be undertaken. The reader will need to decide according to his special knowledge the extent to which the various community projects represent solid achievements and whose principles therefore should have extensive application.

W. L. KINDELSPERGER

The Art of Board Membership. By ROY SORENSON. New York: Association Press, 1950. Pp. 160. \$2.00.

Harper Sibley, whose record of distinguished service on agency boards lends weight to his views, says in the Foreword of this book: "I commend [it] especially to members of community chest and social service agency boards. . . Its value is not limited, however, to board members of non-profit corporations."

Although Mr. Sibley correctly sees values in this book for a public broader than the membership of private-agency boards, it is nevertheless clear that most of its wisdom was drawn from private-agency experience and that the book has more to offer to members of boards of private social agencies than to other comparable groups. For example, the vexing problem of the relationship between a public-agency board and the administrative or legislative body from which it must obtain approval of plans or appropriations of funds receives only indirect attention here. The behavior of aldermen, state legislators, and other elected officials with whom public-agency boards must deal often is determined by attitudes and necessities seldom if ever encountered in private-agency operations. These realities are not examined here.

The book is well organized and well written, and it contains an abundant measure of sound doctrine. It is notably free from the wordiness, the padding, the exposition of the obvious, that sometimes proves a beguiling pitfall for those who write on this subject. Its pages are enlivened by amusing cartoons by George Lichty.

W. McM.

Human Bondage in Southeast Asia. By BRUNO LASKER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. 406. \$6.00.

This volume, published under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is not just another book on a region now claiming world attention and being written about, often in haste, to meet the demand for superficial information concerning its in-

habitants and their place under the political and diplomatic sun. Lack of depth in such writing is particularly dangerous in a time of crisis and upheaval. In the words of the author: "To understand the attitudes and motivations which prevail from Burma to the Philippines and from the foothills of the Himalayas to the tropical forests of Indonesia, we must try to realize not only how the 150 million people of this region have fared in recent years, but also what they remember and how their memories affect their present outlook."

The study under notice is limited to "human bondage," and the author found vestiges of several forms of this relationship, despite the legal condemnation and abolition of it. The problem of slavery is much more complex than most Westerners believe. It has to be dealt with on three distinct levels—that of open or disguised slavery, that of peonage or other institutions fixed by custom and tradition, and that of the evils of so-called "contract labor," supposed to be controlled but actually liable to serious abuse.

The root of the trouble in the region surveyed and investigated is that much of the ancient and feudal world survives in Asia, and the struggle for freedom and fair play assumes forms characteristic of different stages of historical development. To the genuinely impartial and enlightened observer, Southeast Asia offers surprise after surprise. Only adequate knowledge of remote and hidden causes enables him to comprehend the seeming paradoxes and contradictions of the present time.

There has been moral as well as economic progress in Southeast Asia, but a great deal remains to be done in several fields if the wars and insurrections we read and hear of daily are to be terminated and if peace with justice and a certain degree of comfort, not to say prosperity, is to be restored and rendered secure in the vast and agitated region.

Honest advocates of Point 4 in the Truman program of social welfare and sound reform—political, economic, and cultural—will learn much of value from the faithful and competent study by Mr. Lasker, a study approved by several American experts on the manifold subjects treated therein.

V. S. Y.

Home Nursing Textbook. Prepared under the supervision of NURSING SERVICES, AMERICAN RED CROSS. Philadelphia: Blakiston Co., 1950. Pp. ix+235. \$0.60.

The sixth edition of this book, which has been written for nonprofessional people and home-makers who are called upon to give nursing care to the ill at home under the guidance and supervision of a physician or a public health nurse or both, has been completely reorganized.

Although the physical aspects of illness are

stressed considerably, the significance of the mental hygiene of sickness is mentioned throughout the text. The importance of positive health is woven into the chapters on "Personal and Family Health" and "Community Health."

Since many families are assuming more responsibility for caring for one or more of their aged relatives at home, one might have welcomed a lengthier discussion of the physical and mental aspects of nursing care for the aged and chronically ill.

The section on "Home Nursing Procedures" describes clearly all the nursing procedures a home nurse might be called upon to perform; the illustrations accompanying the text are generous and should be helpful in improvising equipment for the nursing care of the patient at home.

The "Chart of Selected Communicable Diseases" presents facts in a clear form. However, the statement on scarlet fever prevention: "No immunization; pasteurization of milk; avoidance of contact with all persons" is misleading in the light of present-day practice.

GERTRUDE HESS

Margaret Dreier Robins: Her Life, Letters, and Work.

By MARY E. DREIER. New York: Island Press Cooperative, Inc., 1950. Pp. xviii + 278. \$4.00.

Miss Dreier has written an interesting and useful book about her sister, whom Chicago always remembers as Mrs. Raymond Robins. Older settlement residents and those interested in trade-unions for women workers will remember when Raymond Robins brought his beautiful bride to Chicago, and they can even tell you of the way in which Raymond and Margaret Robins immediately built up their home fires in a shabby tenement on the West Side. Although she belonged to a wealthy family, she lived after her marriage in great simplicity in a tenement neighborhood and enjoyed it. The story that Mary Dreier tells of her sister is largely based on her letters—chiefly letters to Raymond Robins, to Elisabeth Christman, secretary of the National Women's Trade Union League, and to her sister, Mary Dreier.

She promptly joined the new Women's Trade Union League when it was organized and soon became a member of its executive committee. This was the beginning of her long association with trade-union women and "with socially minded men and women" who worked in co-operation with the women's unions. From this time on she worked with—she would not have said for—the young trade-union girls. It was undoubtedly Mrs. Robins who made possible the first convention of the National Women's Trade Union League in 1907. With her husband, Raymond Robins, who was also a leader in the work for good government, she gave generously both in time and money for many a good cause but especially for labor organization among women.

The book includes chapters on such subjects as "Regulation of Employment Agencies," "Trade Union Progress," "Legislative Halls and Convention Floors," "Campaigning for Teddy Roosevelt," "Votes for Women," "First International Congress of Working Women," "Third Congress in Vienna," "Work and Friends in Florida," "The Children's Conference."—"Nothing human was foreign to her."

The story of the work of Mrs. Robins is also an important chapter in the history of the labor movement.

E. A.

Eleanor Rathbone: A Biography. By MARY D. STOCKS. London: Victor Gollanz, Ltd., 1949. Pp. 376. 21s.

This account of the life and work of Eleanor Rathbone will be interesting to many Americans who knew her and her friends Elizabeth Macadam and Hilda Oakeley. An Independent Member of Parliament for the English Universities for sixteen years at the time of her death, Eleanor Rathbone had had a long and distinguished career in public service. Beginning at her home in Liverpool, where she carried on the traditions of the Rathbone family, there is an account of her student days at Somerville College, Oxford, and her early work with the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, where she succeeded Mrs. Fawcett as president.

She began the long campaign for family allowances before 1918. At this time, family or children's allowances were not used in England "outside the services and the relief agencies." Her book on *The Disinherited Family* (1925) is a vigorous statement of the case for family allowances, which Miss Rathbone popularized in the nineteen twenties. In her work she is said to have made "a peculiarly feminine contribution. . . . She conferred upon the family, as the most ancient institution known to human society and one of peculiar significance to women, a new status in the realm of economics. She brought to bear upon its problems a quality of analytical and constructive thought comparable to that which generations of penetrating masculine scholars had focused upon the problems of production, distribution and exchange." The sections of the book dealing with the campaign for family allowances will be especially interesting to social workers.

It is not possible to note the many organizations with which she was connected. However, many Americans remember particularly her work on the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations. There is much attention given to India and, of course, to the many political questions—especially foreign affairs which were important while she was in Parliament. This on the whole an interesting book about an important English public servant.

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REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Handbook of Correctional Institution Design and Construction. By the STAFF OF THE U.S. BUREAU OF PRISONS. Leavenworth: Federal Prison Industries, Inc., 1949. Pp. 317. \$6.00, paper cover; \$7.50, buckram; \$10.00, leather.

This publication is a monumental contribution to the correctional field, and it fills an important gap in the literature of institutional architecture. It makes available the extensive technical knowledge and experience of the staff of the Bureau of Prisons in the planning and construction of such varied institutions as state prisons, reformatories, workhouses, institutions for juveniles, and jails.

The book, which has seventeen chapters, is profusely illustrated with more than three hundred photographs and detailed drawings of proposed housing, plant layouts, and equipment. But it is not merely a series of blueprints. The text was largely written by Harry Elmer Barnes, and it is a clear, vivid, and interesting narrative, which combines a scholarly knowledge of the historical development of correctional institutions with an appreciation of the interrelationship between institutional planning and the rehabilitative program. As the Director of the Bureau, Mr. James V. Bennett, points out in his Introduction, the "printing, format, and styling represent the skill and interest of the inmates assigned to vocational training in our print shop at the Leavenworth Penitentiary." Mr. Robert D. Barnes, head of the Construction Division, and Mr. Robert A. Weppner of the Advance Planning Unit of the Bureau had major responsibility for preparing the material. All connected with its preparation have done their work well, and the result is a permanent reference book which should be of great value to administrators, planning commissioners, architects, and students.

With dignity and professional spirit, the book attacks directly the great scandal of the correctional field—the building of vast bastilles of concrete and tool-proof steel. Designed mainly to meet the escape hazard presented by a very small part of the institutional populations, these

massive and costly structures have made regimentation rather than rehabilitation the inevitable goal. The Bureau has had excellent results with medium and minimum security institutions, and the various suggested plans are based on practical experience in trying to implement sound professional goals. Advances in correctional philosophy have outstripped the outmoded institutions which characterize most of our correctional programs. Some day the cost of operations alone will force many states to plan new construction, and the *Handbook* should have an important influence in guiding them in the right direction.

The following statement, quoted from the chapter which deals with the interdependence of philosophy and construction, gives some indication of the tone of this significant volume:

So long as a prison resembles an impregnable fortress, the administrators thereof cannot avoid acquiring to a certain extent, a "fortress psychology," and becoming primarily absorbed in the jailing function, to the neglect of the rehabilitative ideal. Our vast new penal leviathans, despite their many novel facilities, create such complex problems of administration and inmate counting and checking that they leave little time to concentrate on the program of individualized treatment, which is the indispensable core of all sound rehabilitative programs [p. 43].

In addition to many practical recommendations regarding major correctional institutions, there are interesting sections dealing with jails, detention homes, and training schools. A proposed new Federal Juvenile Center, to replace the National Training School at Washington, D.C., is described in detail. Because of the policy of diverting juveniles to local authorities whenever possible, the average age of committed federal juvenile offenders is seventeen, which is considerably higher than the average age in the training schools of most states. The new Center is designed to accommodate 580 persons—a much greater population than seems desirable for training schools. The *Handbook* properly calls attention to the age differences, and it is

hoped that the states will not adopt this plan without making adequate adaptations.

The Federal Bureau of Prisons, long a leader in the field, has made a most important contribution with the publication of this *Handbook*. This is a service to the states that should result in tangible improvements in the field of corrections. At the same time, the policies and practices recommended provide a way of conserving state resources, because in constructing correctional institutions the best way is most often the least expensive way.

FRANK T. FLYNN

University of Chicago

Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Old Age Security. Ottawa, Canada, 1950. Pp. 112.

It is of interest to social workers in the United States that, at the time that our own old age security program was being drastically revamped, a Royal Commission was planning a thorough revision of the Canadian old age security program. The commission was created in March, 1950, and, following three months' intensive study and public hearings, presented this *Report* to Parliament. In addition to the committee's recommendations, the *Report* contains a description of the existing old age pension plan, an abstract of the briefs and testimony presented to the committee by the provinces, organizations, and individuals, and the committee's own analysis of the problem of old age security. Included, also, is a section in which existing old age programs in eight leading countries are summarized.

Canada's present old age pension scheme, established by initiative of the Dominion government in 1927, involving a "means test," grant-in-aid arrangement, has proved unsatisfactory in a number of respects. The seventy-year age requirement has been criticized as being too high; the flat-rate payment (originally \$20; \$40 since 1949) has proved insufficient for many beneficiaries; the "means test" has been unpopular; and the National Act and regulations administered solely by the provinces according to formal contract between themselves and the Dominion government have been too rigid and inflexible to meet changing needs and demands. The student of intergovernmental relations will find in this Canadian grant-in-aid measure some interesting parallels as well as sharp contrasts

with the United States pattern of federal aid.

In planning an over-all program, the committee concluded that its choice lay between three different methods: (1) old age assistance; (2) an insurance system, and (3) a universal pay-as-you-go system. United States students of old age security, aware of the wide support in this country for the insurance method, will be surprised that only the Canadian Manufacturers Association urged the insurance approach upon the committee. Again, the assistance approach was condemned and criticized by all but l'Union Catholique des Cultivateurs, which group alone favored retaining the existing means test program. All others, including the Canadian Association of Social Workers, Welfare Council, Chamber of Commerce, Life Insurance Officers Association, and CIO and AF of L organizations, advocated a universal flat-rate old age pension.

In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the Parliamentary Committee recommended for the group seventy and over a universal pay-as-you-go old age pension without a means test, financed and administered by the Dominion government, with age and residence (twenty years suggested by the committee) the only conditions of eligibility. The committee thought that a uniform payment of \$40 per month would be a suitable amount. The committee considered the universal pension both inappropriate and too expensive for the group aged sixty-five through sixty-nine and so recommended for them retention of the existing means test grant-in-aid program administered by the provinces.

Students of old age security will find this *Report* to be an informative and thoughtful study of a thorny problem faced now by almost all nations of the world.

ALTON A. LINFORD

University of Chicago

Ministry of Pensions, Twenty-fourth Report for the Period 1st April 1948 to 31st March 1949. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1949. Pp. iv+52. 1s. 3d. (For sale at British Information Services, Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. \$0.35.)

The first Minister of Pensions was appointed thirty-two years ago, and "the title chosen for his office indicated the prevailing view that his function was to pay money compensation to those who had suffered disablement and to their

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dependents." However, at the present time, there has been an increase of 75 per cent for totally disabled pensioners over the average payment for the year ended March, 1939. The corresponding increase for partially disabled pensioners was 33 per cent. "The figures are averages; the increase in the payments made to the unemployable, the home-bound and other seriously afflicted groups was greater than in the case of pensioners in full employment in their pre-war occupations."

In Great Britain a war disablement pension consists of a basic amount to which one or more supplementary payments may be added according to the individual circumstances. These supplementary payments include the following: addition for the rank held while serving in the Forces; allowance for wife; allowances for children; education allowances for children; unemployment supplement; allowance for lowered standard of occupation; constant attendance allowance; clothing allowance. Both the basic pension and the supplementary payments are free of income tax.

An allowance for a wife is now payable whatever the date of marriage, in contrast to the former rule that only the family obligations existing at the time the disablement was received could be recognized. It is estimated that about 525,000 disabled pensioners—roughly two in every three—are married and receiving allowances for their wives.

Here again, in contrast to the earlier rule, allowances may be paid for children born after the pensioner's service in the Forces. Thus for every additional child now being born in a disabled ex-service man's family an allowance can be granted, and a large proportion of the 73,000 new allowances for children granted during the year were for these additional children. The estimated number of children's allowances in payment on March 31, 1949, was 465,000. The allowances are payable in addition to Family Allowances payable under the Family Allowances Act for the second and subsequent children.

While the war pension allowances for children normally terminate at the age of sixteen, they may be continued while a child continues full-time education, or is an apprentice receiving only nominal wages, or is an invalid.

Then there are the education allowances for children, which are discretionary grants that may be paid to disablement pensioners and war widows in addition to the normal allowances for

their children. "These allowances are paid to help the parents with regard to school fees and incidental expenses."

New York State Department of Social Welfare, Public Social Services in 1948; 82d Annual Report, January 1, 1948—December 31, 1948. (Legislative Document No. 76, 1949.) Albany, 1949. Pp. xvii+136.

New York State fortunately still retains its State Board of Social Welfare, and the board then appoints the commissioner. New York has now had since 1943 a former professor of the New York School of Social Work, Robert T. Lansdale, as the secretary of the board and the commissioner of public welfare.

In an introductory note, written in July, 1949, Commissioner Lansdale points out that every resident of New York State has a vital stake in the major problems that are now confronting both public and voluntary health and welfare agencies. And the Commissioner notes that "unless these problems are satisfactorily solved, all of us—taxpayers, contributors, beneficiaries—may suffer." And Commissioner Lansdale says further: "Against a background of peak employment and high payroll levels, welfare costs are rising substantially from their low war-time levels." In 1948 approximately 3,443,000 persons in the State of New York—1,060,000 of whom were public charges—received assistance, care, or service through 1,536 public and voluntary agencies supervised by the State Department of Social Welfare. This assistance, care, and service included public assistance to the aged, to the blind, to dependent children, and to other needy groups, such as veterans, the handicapped, and other unemployed persons and their families; medical and hospital care; care of children in foster-homes and institutions; and care of the aged in public and private institutions, of the blind and the deaf in schools, and of the sick in convalescent and nursing homes. The total cost of these public and voluntary programs in 1948 amounted to almost half a billion dollars, of which \$318,000,000 came from public funds.

In three years the cost of these public and voluntary services rose by \$202,000,000, an increase caused by a number of factors, including "inflationary prices; the shrinking value of fixed incomes of large groups in the population; rising unemployment, and the displacement of aged,

blind, marginal, and other handicapped workers; the housing shortage and other conditions responsible for the rise in the number of broken homes, and the increasing use of health and medical facilities." In addition, there were the primary causes of dependency—such as death of the breadwinner, sickness, accidents and disability, old age, and unemployment—all of which "played a basic part in creating economic and social need."

However, Commissioner Lansdale thinks that inflation "constitutes the greatest single threat to social welfare programs. . . . All of us know what the rising cost of simple, everyday needs mean to our household budgets. We can understand, then, what these costs mean to the budgets of welfare agencies."

The *Report* notes that a major aspect of the problem of "equitable division of responsibility for meeting social problems" is the question "how much of the burden of economic need should be met through contributory social insurance programs and how much should be carried, through direct taxes, by public assistance

programs." We are told that "contrary to popular belief, the social insurance programs do not protect most people in need," and that "the insurance system is not yet the primary, mass method of providing for the needy. After 13 years of operation of the insurance system, the public assistance system still is carrying the major burden of economic need." As of October, 1948, some 900,000 persons in the United States were receiving unemployment compensation payments, and approximately 2,250,000 persons were receiving old age and survivors insurance benefits, a total of 3,150,000 beneficiaries. On the other hand, there were more than 3,374,000 public assistance cases. And the average national insurance payment, particularly in old age and survivors insurance, is said to be "such that public welfare agencies frequently must supplement inadequate insurance benefits with public assistance payments."

There is a useful appendix (pp. 92-136) devoted to social statistics and some good accompanying diagrams.

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